



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

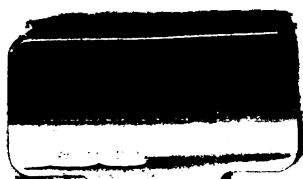
We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>











THE  
**HISTORY**  
OF THE  
**HELVETIC CONFEDERACY.**

---

*BY JOSEPH PLANTA, ESQ. F.R.S.*

PRINCIPAL LIBRARIAN OF THE  
BRITISH MUSEUM.

---

E con la man, che guardò rozzi armenti,  
Par' ch' i Regi sfidar nulla paventi.

TASSO.

---

THE SECOND EDITION.

VOL. II.

---

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY.

---

1807.



---

**T. GILLET, PRINTER,**  
**Wild Court, Lincoln's Inn Fields.**

## CONTENTS.

## BOOK I.

## ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONFEDERACY.

## CHAP. XI.

*The Confederacy prevails throughout Helvetia.*

**Decree of Sempach. Constitutional Act of Zuri.**

Twenty years prorogation of the Truce. Acquisitions made by Zurich; Lucern; Berne; Soleure; Basle. Domestic Occurrences—at Friburg—Schaffhausen—Zug—Glarus. Fire at Berne. Decline of the Nobility. Acquisitions in Italy. Rhætan Leagues. Werdenberg, Tockenbourg, Appenzel, joined by St. Gallen. Battles at the Speicher—at the Stoss—at Hauptlisberg—at the Wolfshalde. Peace. Appenzel unites with Seven of the Cantons. A fifty years' Peace, Recapitulation.

## BOOK II.

**THE PROGRESS, DECLINE, AND DISSOLUTION OF  
THE CONFEDERACY.**

## CHAP. I.

### *Councils of Constance and Basle.*

**The Hierarchy. A Council summoned. Berne takes the Argau. Zurich makes Conquests. The Council dissolved.**

dissolved. War of Raron. War of Bellinzona. Battle of St. Paul. Rhætia. The Grey League. League of the House of God. League of the Ten Jurisdictions. Council of Basle.

## CHAP. II.

### *War of Zurich.*

Succession of Tockenburg. (Burgomaster Stussi) Disputes concerning it. A pacification. Zurich joins Austria. Renewal of the War. Action of Freyenbach. The Lines of Hirzel forced. Action at the Chapel of St. Jacob. Invasion of the Armagnacs. Action of St. Jacob near Basle. Peace.

## CHAP. III.

### *The Burgundian War.*

Parties concerned in the War. Austria; France; Burgundy; Savoy; Milan; Lorraine. Domestic Transactions previous to the War. Hereditary Union between Austria and the Confederates. War declared. Battles of Granson; Morat; Nancy.

## CHAP. IV.

### *The Suabian War.*

Previous Occurrences. The Mad Society. Friburg and Soleure admitted into the Confederacy : Covenantant

## CONTENTS.

v

nant of Stanz : Treaty with France : Waldman's Catastrophe. Intrigues of France. Origin of the Suabian War. Encounter at Luciensteig ; Triesen ; Hard ; Frastenz ; Malsheide ; Schwaderloch ; Bruderholz ; Dornach. Peace.

## CHAP. V.

### *Wars of Milan.*

Conquest of Milan by the French. Basle and Schaffhausen admitted into the Confederacy. French seduction. Matthew Shinner. Hostilities in Italy. Battle of Novarra. Invasion of Burgundy. Appenzel added to the Confederacy. Battle of Margnan, Peace. Battle of Bicoca.

## CHAP. VI.

### *The Reformation.*

Causes of the Reformation. Ulric Zwinglius. Revolution at Geneva. Progress of the Reformation. Anabaptists. Synod of Baden. Zwinglius's dispute with Luther. Dissensions among the Cantons. Hostilities. Battle of Cappel. Death of Zwinglius. Pacification. The Progress of the Reformation retarded. William Farel. Reformation at Geneva. Berne and Friburg acquire the Pays de Vaud. John Calvin.



# THE HISTORY OF THE HELVETIC CONFEDERACY.

---

## BOOK I. *continued.*

---

### CHAP. XI.

*The Confederacy prevails throughout Helvetia.*

**D**UKE Leopold, the fourth of that name, son of the duke who had fallen at Sem-  
pach, came, in the fourth year after the ratification of the last mentioned treaty, to Baden, and formed a new project for the recovery of his lost territories, which, finding force ineffectual, he proposed to accomplish by sowing dissensions among the Confederates. With this view he entered into an agreement with Rudolph Shoen burgomaster of Zurich, and some of its senators; by which they engaged, in the name of their city, to afford no manner of assistance to the Confederates in the defence of the territories they had lately wrested from the

CHAP.  
XI.



CHAP.

XI.

1393.

house of Austria, but rather to espouse the cause of the duke in every contest that might arise between him and the Swiss. Although no intimation of this transaction had been given to the great council (a strong presumption of its pernicious tendency), it reached however the knowledge of the Confederates, who, aware of the danger it involved, instantly sent deputies to Zurich to remonstrate against the insidious act. On the eighth of June these deputies arrived at the town-house; and whilst they were conferring with the burgomaster, who was devising means to evade the charge, the people collected in great numbers, and having gathered from some of the deputies the motive of their mission, they were fired with indignation, and called loudly for immediate redress. The great council hereupon assembled, and resolved to wait for the return of the instrument containing the agreement which had been sent to the duke for his ratification; that the whole burghership should thereupon be convened to take the same into consideration; and that meanwhile the authority of the burgomaster, the tribunes, and the senate, be suspended.

Decree of  
Sempach.

This and other similar attempts against their independence, and the necessity of being constantly upon their guard against the open violence and secret machinations of their unrelenting

lenting foes, induced the Confederates to frame an ordinance chiefly relating to military matters; which, as it owed its origin to the war decided by the battle that proved fatal to the preceding Duke Leopold, was called the decree of Sempach. Its tenor was as follows: ‘ We, ‘ the eight Helvetic cantons, and the city and ‘ district of Soleure, agree to preserve peace and ‘ unanimity among ourselves, and to uphold ‘ each other, so that every individual may enjoy ‘ perfect security in his house, and be no ways ‘ molested either in his person or property. All ‘ traders shall be protected in their persons and ‘ merchandize. No one shall wantonly give ‘ cause for dissension, or be accessory in fo- ‘ menting animosities; but when a war cannot ‘ be avoided, and our banners advance against ‘ an enemy, each of us will, after the example ‘ of our forefathers in their many perils, firmly ‘ unite, and march out together to redress our ‘ wrongs. Whoever deviates from his duty, or ‘ otherwise transgresses the laws, and is convict- ‘ ed thereof by two credible witnesses before ‘ the tribunal to which he is amenable, shall ‘ be sentenced to personal or pecuniary correc- ‘ tion. Should any one in battle, or at an at- ‘ tack, be wounded so as to be disabled from ser- ‘ vice, he shall nevertheless retain his station, ‘ and continue there amidst his companions, ‘ until

CHAP.  
XI.

‘ until the conflict is terminated, and danger is  
 ‘ at an end. On no account must the field of  
 ‘ battle be deserted : and (as an enemy has often  
 ‘ rallied among the pillagers; and lately, at  
 ‘ Sempach, the foe would have sustained greater  
 ‘ losses had our men not been too eager after  
 ‘ booty) no one shall betake himself to spoil until  
 ‘ permitted by the commander. All the plunder  
 ‘ taken shall be delivered to the commander;  
 ‘ who shall make an equal distribution of it, ac-  
 ‘ cording to the number of men from each  
 ‘ canton. Since Almighty God has declared  
 ‘ churches to be his habitations, and has been  
 ‘ pleased to effect the salvation of mankind by  
 ‘ means of a woman, it is our will and positive  
 ‘ decree that none of us shall break open, pil-  
 ‘ lage, or burn, a church or chapel, or any way  
 ‘ insult or molest a woman: this law shall suffer  
 ‘ no exception, unless when enemies and their  
 ‘ property are secreted in sanctuaries, or when  
 ‘ women by their clamours impede the pro-  
 ‘ gress of our forces. This we ordain, accept;  
 ‘ and confirm by oath, at a general diet held at  
 ‘ Zurich, on the tenth of July, in the year of our  
 ‘ Lord one thousand three hundred and ninety-  
 ‘ three.’

This ordinance, the first martial law of the  
 Swiss nation, appears thus to have extended far  
 beyond the mere evolutions of an army, and to  
 have

have involved the great principles on which success in war chiefly depends. To stand like walls, was their fundamental order of defence: to advance irresistibly; to penetrate and bear down every thing before them, like a rock rolling from the summit of St. Gothard; was their mode of attack. Such were the tactics said to have been practised before Troy by the Israelites, when they were still led by the God of Hosts; and by the Greek phalanx and Roman legions, before their grand manœuvres were refined into sightly evolutions, chiefly calculated to gratify the eye of inglorious commanders. The Swiss, without having studied the ancients, were in fact the restorers of the true art of war: and this merely because the nature of their country, and their poverty, compelled them to fight on foot, and with scarce any arms but their undaunted courage; and because they were guided by good sense, and not by the pedantry of formal parade and discipline.<sup>1</sup>

Five days after the promulgation of this decree, the burghers of Zurich met at the convent of unshod Friars; and having considered the treaty with Austria, resolved to remit the whole

<sup>1</sup> A modern chief has of late in Lombardy revived this mode of warfare, and struck terror among the multitudes of highly disciplined troops that were drawn out to oppose him.

affair

CHAP. XI. affair to the council of two hundred. After  
 ~~~~~ mature deliberation, this council determined,  
 ‘ that the clandestine league with Austria was  
 ‘ null and void : and that Rudolph Shoen the  
 ‘ burgomaster, and seventeen of the senators,  
 ‘ should be expelled from all public offices, and  
 ‘ banished the city ; some for life, and others  
 ‘ for a limited number of years.’

Constitutional Act  
 of Zurich.

The council moreover framed an act by which  
 it was ordained, ‘ that the burgomasters, se-  
 ‘ nators, and tribunes, be not continued in office  
 ‘ longer than half a year : that the senate hence-  
 ‘ forth consist of thirteen, either nobles or  
 ‘ burghers; and that this senate and the council  
 ‘ jointly elect the burgomasters and senators :  
 ‘ that each tribe shall elect its tribune, who was  
 ‘ also a member of the senate ; but that a du-  
 ‘ bious election be decided not by the burgo-  
 ‘ master alone, but by that magistrate together  
 ‘ with the senate and great council : that all  
 ‘ law-suits be terminated without delay ; and  
 ‘ that in case of procrastination, the tribunes  
 ‘ be empowered to summon the parties before  
 ‘ them, and decide the cause definitively.’ This  
 new regulation was, with the assent of the lady  
 abbess, solemnly confirmed by the burghers as-  
 sembled for the purpose in the great minster.

The late attempt of Austria proved manifestly  
 that its power was more formidable in peace by  
 its

its artifices than in war by its numerous armies. This excited the vigilance of the Confederates, and at the same time strengthened the bands that held them together. The seven years truce was, at the duke's request, prolonged for a further term of twenty years : and on this occasion he renounced all claim to the late conquests of the Confederates ; limited the contributions of Zug and Glaris, and confirmed their league with the Swiss ; together with those of Entlibuch, Sempach, and Rotenburg, with Lucern. He promised not to fortify Wesen ; and the Confederates, on the other hand, engaged not to admit any of his subjects into their union.

CHAP.  
XI.Twenty  
Years Pro-  
rogation of  
the Truce.  
1394.

The Austrian princes having about this time by various partitions of their hereditary dominions, and the nobles by profusion or improvidence, reduced their power and contracted their means, the Helvetic cities, which under the auspices of the Confederacy were now rapidly advancing in wealth and consequence, availed themselves of the happy coincidence of circumstances, to make various acquisitions by civil contracts. Zurich purchased from its lord the neighbouring seignery of Kusnacht, and from Austria the villages of Honck and Tallwyl : these places, under their new masters, soon increased equally in size, prosperity and beauty.

Acqui-  
sitions made  
by

Zuric.

The

## CHAP.

## XI.

The lordship of Gruningen and its dependencies were by the city redeemed from one of the Geslers; and the towns and districts of Regensberg and Bulach, finding themselves unprotected by Austria, solicited and were admitted into its co-burghership. The Abbot of Einsidlen obtained the same privilege for his town of Pffeffikon: the town of Winterthur, alleging the dangers to which it had been exposed during the late war, sought for security under the protecting arm of Zurich; but an adverse party in the town, insinuating that the transaction had been conducted in a clandestine manner, raised an insurrection, seized on John Goetz the avoyer, led him out and drowned him in the Thur. John Lord de Bonstetten accepted of the co-burghership, both for himself and all his towns and castles. In each of these contracts, all feudal rights not alienated in the bargain, and all previous municipal privileges of the respective communities, were scrupulously reserved; whence (as this was observed in all other purchases of the Confederates) arose the multiplicity of local privileges, immunities, and customs, to which the Helvetic body owed its complicated polity, derogatory, no doubt, to the elegance and simplicity of its fabric; but ever to be revered, as it arose from a religious adherence to justice, and

and an anxious solicitude for the rights of individuals.<sup>2</sup>

CHAP.

XL

Lucern completed the redemption of the lordship of Rotenburg, purchased the bailiwick of the fertile vale of Ebikon contiguous to the city, and redeemed the castle and territory of New Hapsburg, and the towns of Willisau and Buren, the latter having been mortgaged by Austria to the Count of Vallengin. The rich and populous valleys of Entlibuch and Russwyl (whose inhabitants, high-minded and vigorous, could never endure an act of injustice or oppression) being now confirmed in their co-burghership with Lucern, came to an agreement with the city, according to which they were to retain all their privileges and previous regulations, and

<sup>2</sup> No Englishman surely, consistently with his veneration for the inviolate security of persons and property, will arraign this motley combination which proceeded from the very consideration of which he is so tenacious: and after all, since this uncommon variety of constitutions, some of them sufficiently arbitrary, has for many centuries (notwithstanding the frequent clamours of innovators, who exist at all times and in all places, and who murmured even when God himself governed his people) successively insured the comfort and tranquillity of many millions; we may well quote this as another and a very striking instance, that the prosperity of a community depends much more on the untainted manners of the people, and the virtue and wisdom of its rulers, than on the peculiar forms of its civil institutions.

on



CHAP. on all occasions to take the field at their own  
 XI. expence in defence of the common cause.

Berne.

The authority of the Dukes of Austria, and of their friends and substitutes in the Oberland, was now likewise yielding to the auspicious stars of Berne. Many lords, reduced to indigence, conveyed either their whole seigneuries, or some of their dependencies, to the prosperous city. Most of the communities of the Siben-thal had now submitted to Berne. The valley of Frutigen, extending from mount Gemmi to the lake of Thun, and singular for its magnificence of scenery as well as uncommon variety of natural productions, was with the utmost reluctance ceded by the Baron de la Tour and Chatillon, for an adequate relief the Berners afforded to his shattered circumstances. The people of the valley, seeing themselves thus transferred to a government in which they could place greater confidence, resolved to hoard all their scanty savings in order to redeem their taxes: this they effected in seven years; and it is reported that during that period they wholly abstained from eating beef. The gay and fertile Emmenthal became another appendage of Berne, through various purchases from nobles, co-burghers, and other impoverished lords. Peter de Thorberg, at times the fayourer but more frequently the bitter enemy of the Swiss,  
 weary

weary of a toilsome and not at all times innocent life, converted the castle from which he took his name into a Carthusian convent ; and that it might be effectually protected, placed it under the advocacy of Berne. But what mostly contributed to the territorial accessions of this city, was the total extinction of the younger house of Kyburg, a branch of the house of Hapsburg, and allodial inheritor of the Dukes of Zæringen. Ego and Berthold, the last males of that race, on the day when they were sworn co-burghers of Berne, transferred to the city the landgraviate of Burgundy, which conferred a paramount authority over all tenures from Thun to the bridge of Arwangen ; and at the same time made over the county of Bipp, with all its extensive appurtenances, to the cities of Berne and Soleure. Landshut, the last of the wide possessions of this once powerful race, after various mortgages, came at length into the hands of a noble co-burgher of Berne, from whom it was in the sequel purchased by the state. Count Ego, after all these and many more alienations, retired into the valley of St. Dizier in Champagne, where his consort was possessed of several estates ; and where he died, about one hundred and eighty years after his ancestor Count Rudolph of Lauffenburg had shared with Albert (the father of the great Rudolph)

1404.

CHAP.  
XI.

dolph) the territories at that time possessed by the house of Hapsburg.

**Soleure.**

Soleure about this time purchased the seignury of Balm,<sup>3</sup> where the ruins were still extant of the castle of the baron who had been accessory to the assassination of King Albert. Some other estates were bought of its co-burghers: nor did the city neglect the opportunity that offered of acquiring the two castles of Falkenstein above Balstal, in the Jura; which command the pass that is justly deemed the key of Helvetia on the side of Basle and Alsace.

**Basle.**

In this reduced state of the house of Austria, of the prelates, and of the nobility, the burghers of Basle found no difficulty in purchasing from Austria and their bishop all the complicated rights each held in the town of Little Basle, on the opposite banks of the Rhine; and by this accession raised their city to the rank of one of the most considerable in point of extent, in all the upper part of the Empire. Bishop Humbert, of the house of Neuchattel, whose ambition it was to exhibit a stable of forty beautiful horses, had no scruple in sacrificing to this taste the strong pass of Wallenberg, which leads over the Hauenstein to that of Balstal, lately purchased by Soleure. This he alienated to Basle: as also

<sup>3</sup> The village is now called Flummenthal: it lies on the Aar, a few miles below Soleure.

the

the pass at Homberg below the former ; Lies-  
thal, the principal town in the Sisgau ; and  
even the Vidamy of Basle, the last remnant of  
his authority in that city.

CHAP.  
XI.

Thus in a few years, and without wars or compulsive means, have the Confederate cities of Helvetia acquired upwards of forty seigneuries from Austria and its vassals ; some by voluntary surrender, but most of them by open purchase. The old maxim of rejecting territorial acquisitions, was indeed relinquished on these occasions : but at this period no censure will apply for this deviation, if we reflect that the princes in these times, in proportion as the nobility sunk into decay, had recourse to stipendiary forces, numbers of which they now began to enlist under their banners ; and that by means of these, they would soon have crushed the various Confederacies it had been found expedient to oppose to the encroachments of despotism. The Helvetic cities guarded against this by encircling their walls with ample territorial dependencies : which defeated the purposes of their relentless adversaries ; and enabled theirs to survive the leagues of the Suabian, Rhenish, and Hanseatic cities, which had not used similar precautions. The Confederacy moreover by these accessions gradually obtained a preponderancy, which was soon felt in the scale of political

CHAP.  
XI.

Domestic  
Occur-  
rences

at Friburg.

1403.

political equilibrium; and rendered its independence an object of equal solicitude and protection to all the states that composed the grand republic of Europe.

In the present reduced state of Austria, when it could no longer give any effectual support to its own dependencies, much less shield its more feeble allies, various towns which had repeatedly struggled in its cause even against the Confederates, found it expedient to sue for the protection of that very Confederacy whose strength they could not cope with, and thus still further to contribute to its aggrandizement. The city of Friburg in the Uchtland, which had so often in the cause of Austria waged unsuccessful war against Berne, henceforth renounced all enmity; and demanded not only a pacification, but a league. The principal senators of each city met in the church at Laupen, and agreed, ' that perfect amity should henceforth and for ever subsist between Berne and Friburg: that ' all mutual claims should be amicably adjusted ' at a diet, to be held occasionally at Wunnis- ' wyl; or, in cases particularly intricate, by ' arbitrators: that Friburg should henceforth ' stand in the same relation with the forest can- ' tons, as Berne: that the empire be reserved; ' but not against unjust aggressors, who may ' assail them under the sanction of the empire: ' that

‘ that there be a reciprocal exemption of tolls  
 ‘ in both cities: that men who shall fly from  
 ‘ one city for accidental homicide, may take re-  
 ‘ fuge in the other; but that neither city shall  
 ‘ shelter a murderer, an incendiary, or a robber.’  
 Friburg soon after concluded also a perpetual  
 league with the town of Bienne.

CHAP.  
 XI.

Similar causes produced at Shaffhausen a like <sup>Shaffhausen.</sup> tendency to an emancipation from the authority of the dukes and nobles. The latter, here as elsewhere, alienated by sale or mortgage their lands, jurisdictions, taxes, tolls, and most of what they could transfer; all which was acquired by the community. This city now also received a municipal constitution, not unlike that of some neighbouring towns. The citizens, in the same manner as at Zurich, were distributed into twelve tribes and companies:† a burgomaster, who now filled the place of the avoyer, was elected by the burgesses both noble and plebeian: the tribes and companies chose each a tribune; who, together with four nobles whom that order still deputed, formed a senate: each tribe and company moreover elected six of its members, who, together with six deputies

1411.

† The companies consisted of those trades to which no tribes had been appropriated, such as clothiers, &c. In the first of them were classed those nobles who lived upon their fortunes.

of

CHAP.  
XI.

of the nobles, and the sixteen members of the senate, composed the great council. Matters of the first importance, such as the defence of the country and the preservation of freedom, were still agitated at a general assembly of the tribes. Such was the origin of the municipal polity of Shaffhausen; by which democratic tumults, and the evils of an oligarchy, were equally obviated. The people preserved the right of election, which it is most competent to exercise. The office of tribune, being less lucrative than honorary, offered no temptation to sordid avarice or intrigue; hence worth and ability were the best titles to the preference; and hence also the young citizens, whom a laudable ambition prompted to aim at distinction, found it necessary to cultivate those qualifications which might one day recommend them to the free choice of their fellow-citizens.

Zug.

The community of Zug consisted of two parts: the town of that name; and the three rural districts, Menzingen, Bar, and Egeri. A difference arose about this time between them concerning the custody of the banner and public seal; which being referred to the forest cantons, occasioned some animosity at Schwitz, where the opinions were divided on the merits of the contest. The party that favoured the districts from a predilection for the inhabitants  
of

of the country, being the most numerous, ventured, without the sanction of their magistrates, to commence hostilities; and actually marched, and took possession of Zug. The other cantons took the alarm: Lucern sent forces, and Uri and Underwalden deputies, to quell the disturbance. An accommodation was soon effected: the claims of the districts were found to be futile; the landamman and senate residing at Zug were declared the supreme magistracy both of the town and country; and the Schwitzers were enjoined to pay six hundred florins to Zug, and four hundred to the Confederates, as indemnifications for the costs they had occasioned. When this award was heard at Schwitz, the people, ever zealous in the cause of justice whenever justice appeared evident to them, became enraged against those who had misled them: they expelled eight senators from the magistracy, and fined them in the sum of two hundred florins towards the indemnifications; the remainder was paid out of the public treasury. Such was the spirit of rectitude that prompted this artless people, when unbiassed by insidious leaders.

After their eminent success at Næfels, the men of Glaris found little reluctance in the Abbess of Säckingen, and the duke their advocate, to surrender to them, for adequate compensations, various feudal as well as fiscal prerogatives,



CHAP.  
XI.

tives, both relating to the community at large, and to several private individuals. A landamman of their own choice was henceforth their chief magistrate, and this accession of independence induced Zurich to admit them into a perpetual league.

Fire at  
Berne.

1404.

Berne was making rapid strides in its political consequence, in the melioration of its constitution (which still kept verging towards a pure aristocracy), and in the domestic prosperity of its citizens, when it experienced a calamity which well-nigh proved the destruction of the whole city. A fire suddenly broke out in the evening of the fourteenth of May; which, spreading on all sides, consumed in a few hours above five hundred and fifty houses, the hospital, the monasteries of St. Michael and of the unshod Carmelites, and all the rich stores and spoils taken after repeated victories, and which the burghers delighted to display on all public occasions. One hundred inhabitants perished in the flames: and the survivors, destitute of all necessities, exhibited, among the unextinguished ruins of their dwellings, a lamentable spectacle of misery and dismay. On this disastrous occasion the Berners experienced every assistance that could be afforded by their neighbours, co-burghers, and subjects; who came from all parts with money, wine, corn, condolence,

lence, and consolation. Friburg sent one hundred men and twelve carts, and maintained them one month, for the use of the sufferers. All that was dug out of the ruins was restored to the proprietors. The city was now rebuilt with broad streets, convenient arcades, strong walls and towers, and many stately houses of nobles and wealthy burghers. Men of inferior rank received money, that they might build more substantially, and securely against accidents by fire. The town-house was erected; the arsenal established; and a few years after, three cannons were purchased at Nuremberg. All was soon restored; and splendour was even added to the city, and vigour to the state.

CHAP.  
XI.

The decay of the nobles about this time, was greatly accelerated both by natural events and by accidental causes. Otho Baron of Granson was killed in a duel with Gerard of Estavayer; and his rich inheritance, without any regard to the title of William, Otho's brother, was seized by Amadeus of Savoy, and the Count of Gruyeres. Henry, the last of the male line of the Lords of Montfaucon (the founders of Orbe and Echallens), perished at Nicopolis<sup>5</sup> by the hands of a janizary; on the same day that the renowned Ingelram de Coucy, the leader of the English

Decline of  
the Nobility.

<sup>5</sup> 1396; September the first.

CHAP.  
XI.

bands, was taken by the infidels and thrown into a prison, where he died. Henry's yet surviving father bequeathed Monbelliard to his son-in-law the Duke of Wurtemberg, in whose house it has continued to our days; and Lewis de Chalons, hereditary Prince of Orange, succeeded, likewise by female inheritance, to the siegneuries of Orbe and Echallens. The same Lewis obtained also part of the inheritance of the Lords of Cossonay, whose race became now extinct: the remainder of the estates devolved to the Count of Savoy. A warm contest, which arose between Conrad Count of Neuchattel and his town of that name, induced both to demand the co-burghership of Berne, whence this city has, from that time to our days, been resorted to as the legal umpire between the sovereign of Neuchattel (the only one of the princes of Helvetia who still retains his hereditary dominions within its precincts) and his people. Geneva was at this time increasing in extent and population,<sup>6</sup> as well as in its ardent zeal for independence. Assemblies of the inhabitants, under various descriptions, are often mentioned in the documents of these times.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> It is said to have at that time contained two hundred houses more than it does at present.

<sup>7</sup> Cives, burgenses, et habitatores. Annis 1410, 1413, and 1415.

But

But the supreme authority still centered in the bishop and chapter, the Count of Savoy as CHAP.  
Xi.  
vidame, and four syndics chosen annually by the citizens. The bishop was elected by the chapter and confirmed by the pope; but he was not duly installed until he had sworn, at the great altar of St. Peter's church, to maintain the liberties of the city. He ranked among the princes of the empire, and often struggled with the Counts of Savoy, who on all occasions endeavoured to depress him into the class of their provincial prelates. The male line of the Counts of Geneva became extinct by the death of Count Robert, the schismatic Pope Clement the Seventh; after which the country was, by its feeble inheritors, wholly alienated to the house of Savoy.

It was deemed no small accession to the Confederacy when the men of Uri, assisted by a Acquisitions in Italy,  
few Underwalders, possessed themselves of the great pass over St. Gothard into the plains of Lombardy. The Leventine valley is the first Italian district on the south side of this mountain: Riviera follows; and this is succeeded by Bellinzona, where a few hills on the river Ticino form a narrow pass, defended by two strong castles of the most remote antiquity situated in the town bearing the name of the district. Down to this pass nature preserves  
its

CHAP.  
XI.

its rugged aspect : the torrent descends in an unconfined channel and over a succession of abrupt precipices, and seems to bid defiance to the restraining hand of man ; and yet traces are not wanting, on the cliffs and in the caverns, of the industry and beneficence of ancient nobles who, even in the barbarous times of the middle ages, sought to provide for the security of their dependents against robbers and inundations, and to afford them habitations on spots which to us seem inaccessible. Beyond Bellinzona, on to the lakes Maggiore and of Lugano, all nature smiles with a luxuriant variety of vegetation, and the arts have added abundance of embellishments to the splendid but more placid scenery.

1402.

Some men of Uri, bending their course to an annual fair at Varese in the Milanese, descended the precipices of St. Gothard with large droves of cattle. They had not proceeded far when the collectors of the Duke of Milan<sup>8</sup> seized on their oxen and horses, alleging the non-payment of certain tolls. These men, full of vindictive wrath, returned to their homes and roused the indignation of their countrymen. Many remonstrances were during six months transmit-

<sup>8</sup> John Galeazzo Visconti, whose death, which happened at this time, caused an anarchy of which the cantons knew how to avail themselves.

ted

ted to the Duke ; but these producing no redress, the canton of Uri and the upper district of Underwalden,<sup>9</sup> resolved to seek justice by force of arms. With their usual alacrity they instantly displayed their banners in the vale Levenen, whose inhabitants without hesitation swore fealty to their conquerors. They agreed to ‘ obey the ordinances of their new sovereigns, to ‘ receive magistrates from them, and to pay the ‘ stipends allotted them ; to pay them the same ‘ taxes that had till then been levied by the ‘ Duke of Milan ; to provide for the freedom ‘ and security of the pass ; to receive auxiliaries ‘ from Uri and Oberwalden, and to maintain ‘ them even though they came unsummoned.’<sup>10</sup> Albert de Sax Baron of Misox, a Rhætian lord, who had either by arms or marriage obtained from the Rusconis the sovereignty of Bellinzona, being unwilling to forego the superiority in this important pass, occasioned some disturbances at Abiasco in the Riviera, which had joined in submission with the Leventines. The Swiss banners returned in the midst of Decem-

<sup>9</sup> The name of *Oberwalden* is occasionally, and not unaptly, assigned to this district.

<sup>10</sup> The object of this last clause appears to have been to prevent the natives from bringing secretly Milanese forces into their valley, under a specious pretence of having been taken by surprise.

ber,

CHAP.  
 XI.

1407.

ber, over the snowy summit of St. Gothard, with a celerity that was productive of an immediate accommodation, by virtue of which the Baron of Sax, for himself and for his territories of Misox and Bellinzona, became free of the two cantons, on condition that Bellinzona should ever remain an open town, and should never be alienated without the consent of the cantons; that the district pay an annual contribution of two hundred florins to the cantons; and that no tolls be levied in the pass, either upon the freemen of the cantons or their dependents of Urseren, Levenen and Abiasco. The Swiss, even in their simplicity, were well aware of the native cunning of the Italians, and hence endeavoured to strengthen their treaties with what might be deemed severe conditions; but they were often over-reached, and when the deceit was flagrant, they defeated it with their halberts. An expedition into the neighbouring vale of Osola, though in the main successful, yet was in the end productive of no better purpose than adding to the renown of the Helvetic arms.

Rhætian  
 leagues.

Whilst the Confederacy was thus spreading its influence over all Helvetia and even beyond its natural boundaries, other leagues arose in Upper Rhætia, which were in the sequel absorbed in the Helvetic union. This country, a large portion

portion of the higher Alps, the most rugged perhaps of any in Europe, where the horrors of desolation, amidst perpetual ice, alternate with softer scenes of cultivation in numberless meandering valleys, abundantly watered by limpid streams and foaming torrents; and where, within narrow limits, all the varieties of nature are contrasted with a sublimity that baffles all description; this region was, from its asperity, peculiarly adapted to if not productive of the most determined spirit of independence, and calculated to foster all the virtues and vices of a hardy, stern and tenacious people. Hence do we find that its early barons paid scarce any deference to the empire; and that when in the sequel many of their domains devolved by inheritance to foreign lords, each community became gradually not only independent, but also absolute within the narrow bounds in which it was in a manner immured by nature.

CHAP.  
XI.

The Barons of Sax and Razuns, the Counts of Werdenberg and Tockenbourg, the Bishop of Coire and the Abbot of Disentis, were at the commencement of the fifteenth century the most powerful lords in this sequestered region. The domains of the Baron of Sax extended as we have seen towards Italy, in the valleys of Misox and Bellinzona, to which he added the rich inheritance of the house of Belmont, near the



CHAP.  
XI.

the sources of the Rhine. Ulric Brun, Lord of Razuns, had made such considerable accessions to his hereditary estates, as to be inferior to none in wealth and consequence: besides the influence he derived from his alliance with the Count of Tockenbourg, whose sister he had married, he purchased the whole valley of Saffien from the Count of Werdenberg; and from the house of Planta, the vidamy of the valley of Tomiliasca, held as a fief from the see of Coire, but which the bishop,<sup>11</sup> who did not approve of this transfer, soon after recovered by force of arms.<sup>12</sup> The district that particularly owned the supremacy of the bishop,<sup>13</sup> branches out in three directions, the one down the Rhine towards Sargans: the other extending to the south terminates in the narrow vale of Pregalia, where, in their high elevated mansions at Soglio, the illustrious house of Salis have from time immemorial influenced a people that never owned a sovereign except the empire: the third, or eastern arm, extends down the Inn to the confines of the Tyrol; here the fertile dale of Engadine has long been the principal residence of

<sup>11</sup> Hartman of Werdenberg.

<sup>12</sup> The territories of these two barons, and those of the Prince Abbot of Disentis, constituted the chief part of what was since called the *Grey League*.

<sup>13</sup> Since called the league of the *House of God*.

the

the Plantas, and to this day preserves the remains of the language once spoken by the conquerors of the universe.<sup>14</sup> To the eastward of Coire are the valleys of Shamfick, whose principal village, situated under an impending rock, sees its grave perpetually suspended over its head ; and of Pretigau, whose verdant hills rise gradually out of rich meadows and corn fields : Davos lies higher : a lofty plain, inhabited by a numerous community, often secluded from the rest of mankind by the wreck of shivered precipices.<sup>15</sup>

Hartman of Werdenberg Bishop of Coire, in conjunction with John of Werdenberg his kinsman, probably with a view to strengthen themselves against rivals, gave the first example in this country of an union for mutual aid and security. Having convened their vassals and dependents among the mountains above Coire, they received their oaths, by which they bound themselves reciprocally at all times, and with all their might, to maintain their sovereign lords, and succour each other in their just claims and against all aggressors. A few of the communities reserved previous com-

1396.

<sup>14</sup> The Laden : no doubt a corrupted dialect ; but who expects to find Romans even at Rome ?

<sup>15</sup> These two valleys and this plain formed since the best part of the league of *ten jurisdictions*.

pacts

CHAP.  
XL

pacts among themselves ; and the bishop not only confirmed the treaty by oath, but bound all his successors to swear to the due observance of it. Thus arose the first of the Rhætian associations, which, from the dependence of most of its members on the metropolitan church of Coire, obtained the name of the league of the House of God. The prosperous example of the Helvetic Confederacy thus spread around it its own spirit of independence, and no doubt prompted many powerful but provident nobles and prelates to a nearer intercourse with their subjects, and to favour combinations which they well saw they could not obviate. The feud between the Bishop of Coire and the Baron of Razuns, concerning the vidamy of Tomiliasca, appears to have given rise to a similar compact between this lord, the Baron of Sax, and the Abbot of Disentis, which was soon followed by a formal union between them and the freemen of Glaris. This union it was agreed should last as long as their native rocks and valley. It provided for the mutual defence of the parties, without pay or compensation, within their respective boundaries ; Glaris reserving its oaths to the Swiss cantons, and the Baron of Sax his fealty to Milan, unless the duke were to deny justice. This was considered at Coire as a conspiracy against the bishop, and his retainers

tainers proceeded to acts of violence, seized on the cattle some men of Glaris had driven among these mountains. The shepherds of Glaris unused to brook an affront, much less to put up with an injury, gathered auxiliaries from their Confederates and came in force near the walls of Coire, collecting booty as they advanced, and spreading terror even into the episcopal palace. Having raised what they deemed a sufficient compensation for the damage they had sustained, they returned, and the Austrian bailiff at Sargans mediated an accommodation.

The ancient house of Montford or Werden-<sup>Werden-  
berg.</sup>berg, had branched out into three lines, distinguished by banners of three different colours, the red, the black, and the white. The first had no concern in Helvetia, their territories being beyond its frontiers: the second held ample domains on the Rhine, from Mayenfeld down to the lake of Constance, of the best part of which it had been gradually stripped by Austria: the third possessed the county, and assumed the name of Sargans.<sup>16</sup> This branch had long been more powerful than the house of Hapsburg, but the latter produced one great man, and its fortune rose to the highest pitch of grandeur: a proof that personal merit and a

<sup>16</sup> The above named Hartman, Bishop of Coire, was of this branch.

due

CHAP  
XI.Tocken-  
burg.

due regard for superiority of character, are not of such trivial import as some men of high birth are willing to imagine.

Frederick Count of Tockenburg, nephew and heir of Donatus who fought at Næfels, was not less powerful in Rhætia than all the banners of Werdenberg collectively.<sup>17</sup> Haughty and severe in his disposition, he excited murmurs among his subjects, which, dreading lest they should claim the protection of the Swiss, induced him to apply to Zurich for an alliance. His offer was accepted; and it was stipulated that Zurich would assist him at its own expence in all emergencies, particularly against his seditious subjects, whom the city engaged to preclude from any union with the Confederates: the count on his part was likewise, at his own cost, to take the field in behalf of Zurich, and to participate in all its engagements with Austria. The territories of Frederick extended from the frontiers of Zurich to the river Inn; it is not therefore to be wondered that Zurich, in its selfish policy, should not only have been willing, but even desirous to strengthen itself by the accession of so powerful a co-burgher. Had the Tockenburghers been as valiant as the

<sup>17</sup> Especially in what is now called the league of the ten Jurisdictions.

people

people of Neuchâtel,<sup>18</sup> Zurich would no doubt have guaranteed their privileges, and not have afforded an odious example of a free city countenancing the oppressions of a tyrant. The most favourable construction that can be put upon this transaction is, that Zurich meant to avail itself of this union in order to interfere occasionally in behalf of the defenceless people.

CHAP.  
XI.

Such was the state of Rhætia in the earliest period of its associations. The imperial fiefs in the Italian part of Rhætia, the communities of Poschiavo, Bormio, Valteline, the castle, town and county of Chiavenna, and Plurs, were at this time vested in John of Galeazzo Visconti, first Duke of Milan. Mastino, his refractory cousin, having seized on, and been afterwards compelled to relinquish, these districts, made a formal grant of them to the Bishop of Coire. This grant remained unnoticed until the Dukes of Milan felt that the Rhæti were formidable.

The domineering nobles, in the midst of these general and strenuous exertions in favour of liberty, experienced now, with equal surprise and indignation, an unlooked-for opposition from a few villages in the Alps,<sup>19</sup> which as a collective body had not as yet obtained a name;

Appenzel.

<sup>18</sup> See p. 28 of this volume.

<sup>19</sup> Not above six in number.

and

CHAP.

XL



and which, weary of oppression, formed themselves into a community that soon commanded respect by its victories; reduced, in the short space of five years, and with scarce any aid, five towns, sixty castles, and many proud banners; spread its arms from the Thur to the Adige, and has maintained itself to our days with equal vigour and reputation. This is the small republic of Appenzel.

Proceeding from St. Gallen to the southward, a path leads over verdant hills and through rich vales decked with numberless habitations, to an insulated group of mountains, scarce yielding in elevation to the loftiest summits of the higher Alps. From the top of the Sentis, the highest of its pinnacles, are viewed the distant plains of Suabia as far as Wurtemberg, the rugged Tyrol, and to the south the snowy chain of the Rhætian Alps. Among these precipices lived an ancient race, consisting of freemen and vassals, who with unremitted labour had drained the swamps, cleared away the forests, and introduced an arduous culture. The first sovereign they owned was the King of the Franks: who, at what time is uncertain, made them over by grant to the neighbouring abbey of St. Gallen; reserving however to the crown the taxes, levies of forces, and criminal jurisdiction, (all which devolved afterwards to the

the empire,) and to the freemen their long-established privileges. The sovereign power was thus, as it frequently happened in those days, distributed among various superiors, and was hence no where absolute. The villages of Appenzel and Urnäsh deep in the valleys, and Tuffen and Hundwyl at their entrances, paid tribute to the empire, and in some respects acted in common; whilst the district from Gaiss to the Speicher, extending along the heights above the Rheinthal, was a distinct jurisdiction, in which justice was administered by native magistrates in the name of the abbot. The mountains round Herisau and towards Tockenbourg had become a fief in the hands of Rudolph de Roshach, a vassal of St. Gallen.

CHAP.  
XI.

Cuno de Stauffen, Abbot of St. Gallen, having gradually obtained not only the estates of Roshach, but also by mortgage each of the imperial prerogatives within these valleys, became possessed of all except the love of the people. (1390.) He was austere, and his substitutes correctly imitated his conduct: his bailiff at Schwendi laid an annual excise upon milk, butter and cheese, and kept two great dogs, whom he set against all those who were remiss in their payments. The bailiff at Appenzel was so merciless a collector, that on the death of a poor defaulter, he was not satisfied with seizing the best



CHAP.  
XI.

coat he had left behind him, but ordered him to be dug out of his grave, and stripped of the shroud in which his indigent children had caused him to be buried. All imposts were levied in a manner insupportable to the people.

This people, reared in a clear Alpine air, and inured to hardships; a stout, healthy, vigorous race; free-minded, strictly honest, tractable when used with lenity, but stubborn to injustice; these men, who could neither be deluded by sophistry nor warped by fear, and who perceived almost intuitively the best expedient in every emergency, being now well acquainted with the temper of the abbot and the spirit of his administration, formed after various partial meetings a general assembly, in which their principal grievances were fully discussed, and the example of the Swiss was hinted at. They were conscious that no people excelled them in courage and patriotism: and being now well assured of each other's sentiments, they resolved to act in concert: they grasped their arms, and having attacked and demolished the castles, the bailiffs consulted their safety, and fled beyond the frontiers.

The chapter of St. Gallen having of late been so much reduced as to be wholly destitute of the means requisite to oppose this threatening evil, called in the assistance of twelve imperial cities

cities on the lake of Constance and the adjacent Suabia, with whom it was allied. A conference between all parties hereupon took place, in which the men of Appenzel declared that they were ready to yield to the abbot all the submission to which he had a just claim, but that they would endure no injustice or oppression : they moreover requested that the abbot would henceforth name his substitutes from among a certain number of natives to be proposed by them. The allied cities joined with the abbot in rejecting this offer, and even proceeded so far as to abrogate the union that had been formed among the villages ; protesting at the same time, with a profusion of conciliatory words, that the abbot would require nothing from them but what was just and lenient. The officers of the abbot returned now into the valleys, full of resentment and insolence ; imprisoned those whom they considered as the authors of their late expulsion, and manifested on all occasions a most relentless spirit of rancour and animosity. Such were the prejudices they inspired into the people, that none of their most trivial actions were henceforth considered as harmless or unintentional.

The town of St. Gallen, which surrounded and owed some allegiance to the abbey but enjoyed a free government, now also exhibited

Joined by  
St. Gallen.

D 2

heavy

CHAP.  
XL

heavy complaints on account of the non-observance of an agreement to which the prelate, when urged by his necessities, had readily consented.

(1400.) Conrad de Watt was this year burgomaster of St. Gallen, and governed the same with a senate of free citizens, and according to established laws. The city had no territory, but many neighbouring lords were its co-burghers, and steadily attached to its interests: it was comprised in the great league of the Suabian cities; and as a place of commerce, had entered into a compact with Nuremburg for a mutual exemption of tolls. Its independence rose with its prosperity: and in the last years of King Wenceslaus, it was near being wholly emancipated from all dependence on the chapter; the abbot having in fact issued a declaration, dictated by his necessities, which implied an absolute release. The non-performance of this engagement was the cause of the remonstrance now brought forward by the city, and gave rise to an alliance with Appenzel. The town of Wyl, which had ever been zealously devoted to the chapter; and the ecclesiastical vassals of Wittenbach, Waldkirch, and other neighbouring places, manifested also an equal spirit of discontent, chiefly on account of oppressive taxes. The abbot offered redress to some of these towns, in hopes of preventing a threatened combination, but in vain,  
St.

St. Gallen declaring its steady purpose to abide by its union with Appenzel. Cuno, alarmed at the impending storm, hastily withdrew with the whole chapter to his town of Wyl; only one monk being left in the abbey, who shut the choir and suspended all public service.

CHAP.  
XI.

This measure caused a great ferment in the deserted city. The Suabian league interposed; and after much negotiation, the burgomaster of Ulm at length effected an accommodation, by which the burghers of St. Gallen received redress, their league with the Suabian cities was confirmed, but their alliance with Appenzel was positively annulled. This award granted to the abbot all he contended for; namely, the means of obviating all combinations among his dependents; and to St. Gallen what it considered as most conducive to its interest, a firm union with the Suabian cities in support of its rights and prerogatives. Both parties acquiesced, and congratulated each other in the happy issue of the contest; but not so the Appenzellers: they, their energy being as yet unknown, had not only been no ways consulted in the negotiation, but their interests had been wholly disregarded in the award. When this award was read to them, they listened attentively to the first articles; but when they heard that the league of St. Gallen with the Suabian towns was confirmed,

CHAP.  
XI.

ed, and immediately after that their own alliance with that city was annulled, they instantly cried out, ' Treason,' and became tumultuous. One of them however, a man of temperate courage and sound judgment, said to the messengers from the cities, ' Report to your masters, ' that we of Appenzel do by no means accede ' to this award; that when we and the burghers ' of St. Gallen consented to an arbitration, it ' was on condition that equal justice should be ' dealt out to us ; but that equal justice has ' been denied us. Tell the abbot also that we ' perceive his drift ; he means to oppress us ; ' why else should he oppose our league with ' St. Gallen ?' The people, full of indignation, thought themselves mocked and insulted by the haughty senators, and felt conscious that they did not deserve so humiliating a treatment. The hearts of these artless shepherds were henceforth wholly alienated from the Suabian cities.

A man of vigour, who is firmly bent on a laudable pursuit, should he be deprived of all the hopes he had just reason to entertain, will however, provided he continue true to himself, seldom fail to meet ultimately with the countenance and support that will enable him to achieve his purpose. These people, seeing that they had nothing to expect from the city of  
St.

St. Gallen, which had now even entered into a league with the abbot, met their landamman in the village of Appenzel, and swore to stand by each other to the last extremity in support of their freedom. They hereupon sent to the seven Swiss cantons,<sup>20</sup> and requested their alliance. Fortunately for them they obtained what was sufficient to support their courage, but not enough to permit them to neglect their own means, and place their whole trust in others. Five of the cantons, either too distant or being biassed by the abbot, declined the offer. Schwitz, ever desirous to impart freedom, accepted the union without hesitation; and Glaris declared, that all who were willing to engage in the cause of Appenzel were at liberty to follow their inclination. Two hundred men of Glaris took to their arms, and marched over the mountains into these valleys.

CHAP.  
XI.

The abbot now called upon the allied cities to assist him against his rebellious subjects in the mountains; but they preferring conciliatory measures, sent a deputation to Appenzel to offer terms of accommodation. The people briefly answered, ‘ The repeated oppressions of the abbot and the partiality of your cities, have

<sup>20</sup> When only seven cantons are mentioned, Berne is the one excepted. This state, on account of its remoteness, often took no share in the concerns of the others.

‘ compelled

CHAP.  
XI.

‘ compelled us to form an alliance with Schwitz;  
‘ to this we are resolved to adhere, and with  
‘ this reservation we offer to accede to an arbi-  
‘ tration of the Confederates.’ George Erns,  
the deputy, replied, ‘ We shall ere long know  
‘ how to reduce your stubborn spirits.’ They  
said, ‘ Our cause is just ; and in such a cause  
‘ God favours the brave.’

1403.

Early in the ensuing spring the towns of  
Constance, Ravensburg, Uberlingen, Wangen,  
Buchorn and Lindau, sent forces against the  
refractory peasants ; and the city of St. Gallen  
also spread its banner in the cause of the abbot.  
The shepherds stationed on the heights of Ap-  
penzel saw the approaching army, gave the  
appointed signals, and the valleys now for the  
first time heard an alarm. All able to bear  
arms, after receiving the blessings of their aged  
fathers and bidding farewell to their wives and  
children, resorted to the banner. About two  
thousand met under Jacob Hartsh their captain,  
and marched to the eminence above the village  
Speicher. The descent from thence to St. Gallen,  
although stony and rugged, is not steep: in one  
place the road leads through a hollow way be-  
tween high grounds covered with wood. The  
combined troops of the abbot, after having been  
liberally feasted at St. Gallen, drew out on the  
fifteenth of May towards the mountains: the  
Appenzellers

Appenzellers meanwhile, aware of the importance of this decisive day, slept little in the preceding night, partook of the frugal store they had brought with them, and carefully occupied every advantageous post. CHAP.  
XI.

At daybreak the army of St. Gallen, consisting of five thousand horse and foot, ascended the acclivity and entered the defile, unapprized of the three hundred Schwitzers and two hundred men of Glaris, who occupied the woods on either side: they no sooner reached its upper extremity, than they were instantly assailed by eighty slingers, who after severely galling them returned to their stations; the Schwitzers and men of Glaris at the same time made a similar attack on the rear, which was advancing slowly into the narrow pass. Whilst this column was making every effort to extricate itself from its confined position, a body of Appenzellers appeared suddenly from behind the upper heights. The cavalry which led the van no sooner saw the approach of these tall vigorous men of a daring aspect, than they repented of the contempt in which they had held this rude peasantry. Perceiving the expediency of alluring the battle, if possible, into the more even ground below the defile, they called loudly to those who immediately followed them to fall back. Whilst they were thus retreating, not in the best order, the

Battle at the  
Speicher.



CHAP.

XL

suddenly from the woody heights upon both their flanks. The rear perceiving this retrograde motion thought that the head of the column had been worsted, and fled in great disorder towards St. Gallen. Their pursuers instantly placed themselves in the interval left by this hasty retreat, and had they been sufficiently numerous, would have surrounded all those who remained above them in the pass. The horse, restrained in all its movements, gave up the contest and dispersed. In this rout perished the two burgomasters of St. Gallen, by the hands of those with whom they would have conquered had they been true to their engagements. The road to the very gates of St. Gallen was strewed with dead; four cities lost their banners, and above six hundred cuirasses were taken. Many of the burghers of St. Gallen, when they reached their homes, acknowledged that they owed their lives to the remembrance of former friendships with their present foes. Hartman Ringli had been mortally wounded: a shepherd of Appenzel was levelling a final death blow at him, when he implored for a short respite, that he might once more see a beloved wife, who but two days before had been delivered of a son. The shepherd dropped a tear, called some of his companions, and with them

them bore Hartman to the gates of the city, His wife being apprized of this, lost sight of her own danger, flew to the spot, kissed the blood from off his wounds, and attended him until the succeeding day, when he expired. Every shepherd of Appenzel who after this came to St. Gallen, was sure to be kindly received and hospitably entertained by this pattern of conjugal fidelity.

CHAR.  
XL

Jacob Hartsh gave now the signal to stop the havock; and though many of his followers, after so great a rout, were eager to enter St. Gallen, yet they all obeyed. Their loss was inconsiderable. They returned to the field of battle, and there offered up thanks to the Almighty, who in this first conflict in their country's cause had thought them worthy of so complete a victory, and then repaired to their homes. They thanked the men of Schwitz and Glaris for their friendly aid, and gave them their share of the booty; and the Schwitzers now congratulated themselves on having admitted so brave a people into their union. The city of St. Gallen was likewise soon after reconciled, and even established a friendly intercourse with them.

The victors being well aware that the abbot would not abstain from further hostilities, demolished the principal castles within their valleys, and made some inroads upon the lands of the

CHAP. the abbey, in order to strike terror and cause  
XI. their arms to be respected. The Suabian towns  
meanwhile, weary of the detriment this disastrous war occasioned to their commerce, earnestly requested the prelate to listen to terms of accommodation ; but Cuno, having received intimation that Austria was inclined to afford him assistance, was deaf to all proposals. The cities hereupon made a separate peace ; and the Appenzellers, in order to deprive the abbot of the support of the nobles who held estates within their valleys, conferred on the vassals of these lords the same independence which they themselves enjoyed, and which they prized above all things, and were determined to maintain. The indignation this excited in the abbot and among his nobles soon reached the court of Frederick Duke of Austria, who was told, ‘ That the men of Appenzel were emulating the ‘ Swiss, and would soon, from a desire of excelling them, become still more outrageous ; ‘ that suffering them to proceed in their audacity, and to join the Confederacy, would soon ‘ bring on the final ruin of the nobility of Helvetia.’ The duke answered, that he would without delay send a sufficient force to chastise the insolence of these mean and audacious peasants.

While the abbot and the nobles of St. Gallen,  
flushed

flushed with renewed confidence, were prognosticating the impending ruin of their base adversaries, came Rudolph Count of Werdenberg, of the black banner, into the valleys of Appenzel, and at an assembly of the people said: ‘ You know me well, hearty friends and fellow sufferers. I am a Montford, of a race that yields to none in antiquity and splendor of nobility; but what is nobility without honour and independence? Behind that rock is Werdenberg, the seat of my forefathers. Yonder valley, the Rheinthal, you well remember has long been governed by my ancestors, my father, and myself: all has been wrested from me and my brethren by the insatiate thirst of Austria after accumulated dominions, and this in recompense for a long series of eminent services: but who seeks gratitude and justice from men who hold unlimited power? I know the dukes: they cherish the servile lords, to whom they grant as a favour the privilege of cringing at their courts: they scorn the ancient free-minded nobility, and under pretence of preserving order and tranquillity, seize their castles and retain them in their possession. I am well apprized that the duke is collecting forces in the Tyrol to attack you. The oppressed should firmly unite; and I offer to espouse your cause, and to maintain it with all

CHAP.  
XL.

‘ all I have left of my once splendid fortune,  
 ‘ my experience in the mode in which the Au-  
 ‘ strians conduct their wars, the valour of my  
 ‘ ancestors, my sword, my blood. Place confi-  
 ‘ dence in me : a Montford was never yet per-  
 ‘ fidious.’ The shepherds knew Count Rudolph  
 to be a brave and skilful warrior, but they doubt-  
 ed whether he would conform to their rustic  
 manners. Being however well assured of the  
 sincerity and firmness of his purpose, they ad-  
 1404. mitted him into their community. He hence-  
 forth laid aside all marks of distinction, and  
 lived among them as a shepherd : he soon gain-  
 ed their affections, and they elected him their  
 captain. They raised intrenchments in their  
 passes, and renewed their league with Glaris.

Duke Frederick meanwhile was hastening his  
 preparations. His forces assembled early in June  
 at Arbon on the lake of Constance ; and the  
 seventh of the month was appointed for the  
 march towards St. Gallen, which had now  
 openly declared for Appenzel. Considerable  
 bodies of men were at the same time sent up  
 the lake and into the Rheinthal, to effect a ge-  
 neral attack on various sides of the country.  
 The morning was overcast and proved rainy :  
 the detachment in the Rheinthal marched up  
 the steep ascent from Altstetten, came to the  
 intrenchment that had been thrown up to guard  
 that

that entrance, and finding no opposition, sent two hundred archers to open a passage through the trench. This being effected to a small extent, the whole penetrated and took possession of a post called the Stoss.<sup>21</sup> Having with great difficulty, on account of the slipperiness of the turf greatly increased by the rain, advanced too far to retreat with impunity, four hundred men of Appenzel, with a few from Schwitz and Glaris, came forward on the heights, and rolled down large masses of stone and timber upon them. The Austrian archers, their bow-strings being wet, shot their arrows in vain. Werdenberg, bare-footed like all his followers for the sake of a firmer tread on the moistened sod, ordered an attack. At the same instant appeared on a neighbouring eminence a troop clothed in white, who threatened the flank of the enemy: these were the wives of the Appenzellers, worthy of their mothers, whose fame is recorded by Tacitus.<sup>22</sup> The men under Werdenberg fought to great advantage, being much favoured by the slipperiness of the soil, which they knew how to encounter, but for which the Austrians were not prepared. This attack proved fatal to the Avoyer of Winterthur and ninety-five of his burghers; to eighty burghers

CHAP.  
XI.At the  
Stoss.<sup>21</sup> A boundary.<sup>22</sup> Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 7.

of

CHAP.  
XI.

of Feldkirch, and to the Lord of Slandenberg from the banks of the Adige, who struggled long but in vain to defend its banner. George Erns, who two years before had bid defiance to this people, paid now the forfeit of his arrogance. All these and many others fell, because not having made the breach in the intrenchment of sufficient width, they found themselves hemmed in; the dampness of the day at the same time depriving them of the means of resistance. The streams of blood that now tinged the descending torrents, gave notice in the valley of the havock that had been committed; and this intelligence was soon after followed by the few stragglers who had escaped the carnage.

At Haupt-  
lisberg.

Early on the same day arrived Duke Frederick at the gates of St. Gallen; but found the place too well defended to hazard an attack. He was returning towards Arbon, when four hundred burghers, who had come unobserved out of the city, suddenly fell upon his flank from the Hauptlisberg, an eminence they had gained by secret paths; and after a very considerable slaughter, threw the whole into confusion. Here Shaffhausen lost its banner and several of its most distinguished burghers. Frederick however proceeded, and as soon as he found himself on a favourable spot, he drew up his forces and offered battle; but the burghers were

were not so rash as to engage on such unequal terms. The day declined, the duke continued his retreat, the four hundred still harassing his march from the adjacent heights, and arriving late at Arbon, met the news of the defeat at the Stoss.

CHAP.  
XI.

Frederick, weary of this inglorious war and yet unwilling to return to Inspruck without one wreath of laurel, resolved to procure it by a stratagem. He gave out at Arbon that he meant to return to the Tyrol, and confirmed the report by a display of all the necessary preparations. His army was ordered to march into the Rheinthal, where vessels had been stationed for crossing the river: secret instructions were at the same time given, that on reaching the entrance of that valley the troops should on a sudden ascend the heights towards Appenzel, and if not reduce at least pillage the country. The least advantage he knew would at his court be magnified into a splendid victory. One of his officers to whom the secret had been entrusted, betrayed it perhaps accidentally to a young woman of Appenzel, who immediately cautioned her countrymen. The appointed day arrived, and the army, reinforced by the subjects of the abbot, advanced towards the Rhine. Having reached the foot of the Wolfshalde<sup>23</sup> they

At the  
Wolfshalde.

<sup>23</sup> A mountain that declines from the side of Appenzel towards the borders of the lake.



CHAP.  
XL

ascended with all possible speed, but not in the best order. On a sudden they met four hundred of the shepherds, who fell upon them with their usual shouts and impetuosity. The Austrians collected near a church, and confiding in their great superiority of numbers, maintained a most obstinate conflict. Many fell on both sides, but at length the valour of the shepherds prevailed; the Austrians gave way, and the death of each Appenzeller who perished was avenged by the slaughter of at least ten of his adversaries. The duke seeing his weakened bands rushing precipitately down the mountain, partly disarmed and with few of their ensigns, execrated the disastrous war, made over the command of his vassals in Thurgau to Frederick Count of Tockenbourg, crossed the Rhine and returned to Inspruck.

A defensive alliance for a term of nine years was now concluded between the city of St. Gallen and Appenzel; and the latter renewed its union with Schwitz. Many hostile towns and districts dreading the impression of the arms of a people so dauntless and victorious, solicited to be admitted into their alliance. Feldkirch was received for a term of ten years. The lower Tockenbourg, Wesen, Windeck and the whole Rheinthal, forsook the Austrian power and sheltered themselves under the wings of this union.

union. The men of Appenzel proved to Rudolph of Werdenberg, that he had not erred when he confided in their courage and affection : they drove the Austrians from his castle, and restored it to its legitimate proprietor. They also proved their gratitude to Schwitz by marching, in the depth of winter, into the Gaster, and having wrested from the duke the Lower March and some other districts, surrendering them to that canton.

No offers of accommodation being proposed, the men of St. Gallen and Appenzel crossed the Rhine, and prosecuted the war with vigour towards Upper Rhætia and the Tyrol. Hearing that the Tyrolese complained heavily of injustice and oppression, they marched to their relief, and were received with joy and gratitude. They met the duke's mercenaries, and repulsed them: they demolished many castles, took several banners, which had till then been wholly unknown to them. They had advanced far into the country, when news was brought them that the ducal forces threatened another invasion from the lake, and that Cuno was endeavouring to raise the whole empire against them. They immediately returned, and their presence frustrated whatever hostile attempts might have been projected. Before the end of the year they resolved to bring the abbot back to his choir and holy

1406.

relics.

CHAP.

XI.

relics. They went in force before Wyl, which after five days of feeble resistance capitulated. The chiefs intimated to the abbot that he would gratify the wishes of the people, if he would return with them to his abbey. The prelate, pale, hoary, emaciated and dismayed, came forth to the troop, who viewed him with compassionate reverence. Many spoke comfort to him; they aided him to mount his horse and escorted him to the abbey, where he was received with sympathy by all those who knew how to commiserate misfortunes. Cuno, revived by this reception, and perceiving that his best security would be the friendship of the people, against whom he had so obstinately contended, placed himself and his abbey under the protection of the burgomaster, senate and burghers of St. Gallen, and of the landamman and community of Appenzel.

1407.

In the ensuing year the men of St. Gallen and Appenzel appeared before Constance, and proceeded thence down the Thurgau, purporting either to compel the Austrian vassals in that province to a lasting peace, or to exterminate them. They were spoiling the lands about Winterthur, when news was brought them that a numerous body of Austrian cavalry had crossed the Rhine at Shaffhausen, and threatened their frontiers. They summoned their allies;

allies ; but the Austrians, unacquainted with the country, having deviated towards the Argau, they found themselves at liberty to prosecute the war all around them : they crossed the lake, and in the depth of a most rigorous winter sat down before Bregenz. It must appear a matter of just surprise that this small people, solely supported by its own energy and the justice of its cause, struggling with the whole force of Austria, of the Abbot of St. Gallen, and all its powerful neighbours, should, during five years, in which it took upwards of sixty castles and demolished more than one half of them, have experienced no check whatever, and have purchased its victories with a loss scarce perceptible in its population.<sup>24</sup>

The principal nobles, not only of Helvetia and Suabia but also of more distant provinces, aware of the danger to which the progress of this dauntless people exposed their grandeur and authority, formed six associations for the purpose of restraining their further progress.<sup>25</sup> They

<sup>24</sup> As an instance of their simplicity it is recorded that at the taking of a castle they destroyed all the plate and furniture they found in it, but carefully secured some bags of pepper, which they shared among themselves with great exactness.

<sup>25</sup> They afterwards formed into one general association under the name of St. George's Shield.

were

CHAP.

XI.

1408.

were countenanced by Rupert, King of the Romans, and early in the next year came with eight thousand horse and foot to the relief of Bregenz. On the thirteenth of January a thick fog stood over the lake, and facilitated their approach. The first onset was furious, but the besiegers sustained it with their wonted firmness. Their commander, Conrad Kupfershmid of Schwitz, however, and eight of his men having been killed, and eighty men of St. Gallen and Appenzel taken, they retired, but in such good order that none thought it safe to join in the pursuit.

Peace.

King Rupert came now to Constance, and summoned before him the Suabian lords and the deputies of St. Gallen and Appenzel. He reproved the latter for their unwarranted league, the demolition of so many castles and the abolition of the usual imposts. The men of Appenzel answered; ‘ that the whole blame lay ‘ with their adversaries; that they being free- ‘ men, under the protection and sole authority ‘ of the empire, had been illegally mortgaged to ‘ the Abbot of St. Gallen: that he had increased ‘ their taxes; and that his substitutes had wan- ‘ tonly oppressed them: that instead of submit- ‘ ting a difference that had arisen between them ‘ to the decision of the empire, as their privileges ‘ demanded, an attempt had been made to com- ‘ pel

‘ pel them by arms into submission : that what  
 ‘ had followed was the consequence of this in-  
 ‘ jurious treatment : that driven by necessity  
 ‘ they had fortified themselves by alliances with  
 ‘ those who, like themselves, had asserted their  
 ‘ native liberties when wantonly attacked: that  
 ‘ they sought no dominion ; but only desired  
 ‘ to be maintained in their ancient rights and  
 ‘ privileges, without which their existence would  
 ‘ be intolerable.’

The king, after much deliberation, decided against Appenzel. His decree pronounced as follows: ‘ Whereas the league between St. Gallen, Appenzel, and other Confederates, was made against the laws of the empire, it is hereby declared null and void, and may never be renewed without our special approbation. Each lord shall be paid the revenues due to him ; but no lord shall resent the insults of the late war. All bans and interdicts are hereby rescinded, except the papal excommunication, which we cannot repeal. Our dear son’s, the Duke of Austria’s, title to the March usurped by Schwitz shall be reserved, as well as all his claims upon the Count of Werdenberg.’

The men of Appenzel heard with disdain the repeal of their league ; which in fact was amply justified by a rescript of the Emperor Charles the Fourth, which had authorized the Swiss Confederacy.

CHAP.  
XI.

Confederacy. They considered the decree as partial and oppressive; and yet on the other hand, though confident that they could effectually defend their own mountains, they saw that their distant acquisitions must be exposed to the power of Austria, and of the associated nobles and the empire. They therefore accepted the hard conditions; but they met, and mutually engaged by solemn oaths, that they would ever and firmly hold together, in defence of the freedom they had inherited from their fathers; and in confirmation of this intimate union, they decreed that the whole country should henceforth unite under one banner.<sup>26</sup>

Respecting the abbot, the king ordained 'that as the country of Appenzel had been by former emperors mortgaged to the abbey of St. Gallen, the said abbey should remain in possession of it until it be redeemed: that this country pay all the arrears of taxes, and make ample reparation for all the damages it had occasioned to the chapter; but that in its administration the abbot should follow the example of Herman de Bonstetten, his revered predecessor.' As this decree did not obviate the abuses that had occasioned the war, it was not accepted; and King Rupert died before he could cause it to be enforced. Thus ended a destruc-

<sup>26</sup> Each village before this had its own banner.

tive

tive war, which would not have happened had Cuno been better acquainted with the temper of his people. CHAP.  
XL

The Appenzellers, confining themselves now alone to the defence of their country, strengthened themselves by alliances with the Count of Tockenbourg, the Lord of Sax, but more especially with seven of the cantons, who did not hesitate to admit them for ever into their union. Unite with  
seven of the  
cantons.  
1411. But as the public weal rendered it necessary that Appenzel, in the pride of its independence, should not involve the Confederacy in perilous wars, the new allies agreed never to take up arms without the approbation of the Swiss. They even consented to assist the Confederates with all their force, and at their own expence; while in their own wars they agreed to be content with whatever succour the cantons would please to send them, and to allow pay to the auxiliaries. The Swiss further stipulated, that they should either jointly with or without Appenzel be authorized to add to the number of articles of this treaty, or to rescind such as might appear to them exceptionable.

In the same manner as in a family every member co-operates with different powers towards the common interest, so in this Confederacy were the ties that united the different cantons of various import, according to the circumstances



CHAP.  
XI.

cumstances under which each of them was enabled to contribute to the exigencies of the whole. None were admitted to equal rights in the Confederacy, without previous and unequivocal proofs of their temper and energy both in peace and war.

One month after the promulgation of the above decree died Abbot Cuno, full of years, worn down by misfortune, and as little commiserated by those who thought him a bad, as by those who considered him as a weak man. He was succeeded by Henry Lord of Gundolfingen; who conciliated the affections of the burghers of St. Gallen by declaring, that he would hold his ecclesiastical court no where but in their city, and that he would prosecute a burgher before none but the city magistrates. The Appenzellers refused to acknowledge him until he had admitted both their own domestic union, and their league with the Confederates. The abbot, unwilling to comply, renewed the ban and excommunication; but they, conceiving that whoever has a good conscience cannot be excluded from the communion of the church, paid no regard to the ecclesiastical censure; and the welfare of their cattle was not obstructed by the ban of the empire.

A fifty  
Years  
Peace.

The twenty years truce between Austria and the Confederacy was now near expiring, when  
Duke

Duke Frederick, influenced no doubt by a new association of the nobles, equally directed against the formidable progress of the Confederates, and his neglect of their own concerns, proposed a further prolongation of it. On the twentieth of May it was agreed that the eight ancient cantons, and their allies of Soleure and Appenzel, be confirmed in the peaceful possession of all they had acquired either by arms, surrender, or purchase; that even Schwitz should retain their contiguous March; and that all the rights that still pertained to Austria, whether feudal, of levies, or for the redemption of mortgages, be reserved and solemnly confirmed to the duke. A process for the decision of all future differences was agreed upon. Sixteen towns of the neighbouring hereditary dominions, summoned for the purpose by the duke, certified that this treaty had been concluded with their concurrence, and engaged to promote the strict observance of it. Its duration was extended to the term of fifty years. It was finally ratified and proclaimed on the eighth of July, about one hundred years after the first Duke Leopold had commenced an inglorious war against a few hundreds of Swiss shepherds.

Thus have we briefly delineated the rise of the Helvetic Confederacy, and its gradual increase in territory, power, and martial fame: and

Recapitulation.

CHAP.

XL

and related how the nobles, partly through pride and rashness, and in a great measure by the extinction of the most powerful families, were deprived of their superiority, and the best part of their wide domains ; in what manner the forest cantons established a dominion beyond St. Gothard ; how the Rhatians first confederated among themselves, and afterwards with Glaris ; and how effectually the Appenzellers struck terror into the nobility, and earned a reputation which procured them an alliance with the Helvetic cantons. These striking events, combined on the one hand with the progress in the moral and civil institutes of the eight ancient cantons, and on the other with the distracted state of the Austrian power, will sufficiently evince the cause which, after the decisive day of Sempach, transferred the superiority in these parts gradually from the nobles to the people. The great princes who ruled besides Austria, were the two sons of Charles the Fourth, Wenceslaus King of Bohemia, and Sigismund King of Hungary. Both were feeble and often unfortunate. They had more territory than money, and no commander of superior talents in their armies ; nor indeed were they endowed with sufficient capacity to draw men of superior merit out of obscurity. The greatest disorders prevailed in the church ; and throughout

throughout Italy, France, Spain, and the north of Germany. Although necessarily exposed by their situation to these incessant struggles, and after a century of arduous conflict, the Swiss had now arrived at a state of permanent polity which insured their domestic tranquillity, and procured them the respect of their less fortunate neighbours. Uri commanded both sides of St. Gothard: Schwitz was terrific in arms; Unterwalden still retained the undaunted spirit it displayed when it repelled the attack of Strasberg; Zug, in the midst of its conciliating allies, had neither foreign attacks nor domestic feuds to fear; Glaris preserved its courage and honest purpose; Lucern, Zurich, and Berne, were secure within their strong walls and lofty towers, and formidable to all around them by their extensive territories, numbers of castles, and abundance of subjects and opulent co-burghers; but to nothing were they more beholden for their aggrandizement than to the wisdom, vigilance, and courage of their rulers, both in peace and war. The Swiss Confederacy, though it had not as yet admitted all the members it has since incorporated, was however at this time fully established, and had spread its benign influence over all Helvetia and the Rhætian Alps.

## BOOK II.

THE PROGRESS, DECLINE, AND DISSOLUTION,  
OF THE CONFEDERACY.

## CHAP. I.

*Councils of Constance and Basle.*CHAP.  
I.

**A**N assembly so numerous, so splendid, and important, as the general council which in the beginning of the fifteenth century, met at Constance (a city which, although no part of the Helvetic body, was yet situated within its natural boundaries), must have been noticed in this place, even though the incidents to which it gave rise had been less conducive to the further aggrandizement of the principal states which then composed the Swiss Confederacy. A short retrospect of the events which gave rise to this grand convocation will, it is hoped, appear by no means foreign to this history; when it is considered that it presents a view of society, and delineates manners, in which the Helvetic tribes, from their central situation, necessarily

cessarily partook in common with the greater part of the nations of Europe. CHAP.  
I.

No sooner had the increase of the human species given rise to the variety of separate professions to which individuals devoted themselves exclusively, than even the worship of the Creator, the main object of our existence, became gradually the sole occupation of a distinct set of men; for whom ample provision was made, that they might (being exempted from the cares of worldly affairs) devote themselves wholly to the contemplation of the Supreme Being, preserve in its original purity the revelation of his will, instruct mankind therein, and preside at the celebration of holy rites. After the coming of the Saviour of the world, these duties appear, without any peculiar designation, to have devolved to men who, besides their religious zeal and sanctity of manners, were likewise venerable for their age;<sup>1</sup> while younger proselytes were not only willing, but even ambitious, to assist the reverend fathers in their sacred functions.<sup>2</sup> Some among the priests, superior to the rest in personal or local pre-eminence, undertook the task of superintending the religious concerns of an extensive district;<sup>3</sup> and several

<sup>1</sup> Presbyters: from whence the more usual appellation of priests.

<sup>2</sup> Deacons or assistants.

<sup>3</sup> Bishops.

of

CHAP.

I.

of these, jointly submitted to the guidance of the superintendant of a large city or metropolis,<sup>4</sup> forming thus an ecclesiastical province.

The benefits these orders conferred upon mankind in the purity of their original institutions, are too manifold to be here enumerated; but in no instance perhaps have they deserved better of the human race, than by having essentially contributed to soften the ferocity of the rude nations who, when the Roman empire had lost its protecting energy, spread horror and devastation over the fairest parts of Europe. The persuasive arguments and impressive examples of the holy men who performed these arduous, and in many instances perilous duties, received additional weight from the sanction of a supreme spiritual authority, which centred now in the pontiff at Rome, whose mysterious sway was admitted with reverence by the rude barbarians, to whom he was represented as the immediate organ of the divinity.

The clergy, thus formed into subordinate ranks, and long accustomed to announce, expound, and enforce, the decrees of heaven, assumed gradually a habit of command; in which the people (from a firm persuasion of the superiority of their wisdom, learning, and piety)

<sup>4</sup> Archbishops and patriarchs.

readily

readily acquiesced, as long as the order kept within the due bounds of reason and moderation. But motives like these, from the fatal propensity of human nature to arrogate power, did not long controul the aspiring tempers of the ecclesiastics. Religion and policy became gradually blended together, and the former soon lost its pre-eminence over the latter. Pride and ambition invaded the breasts of the higher ranks; and envy and hatred, construed indeed into a fervent zeal in behalf of orthodoxy, often suppressed not only the voice of nature, but even the milder dictates of christianity. Atrocious vices, which few took pains to conceal or even to palliate, shook the faith of the bewildered multitude; and the christian world became gradually divided between timid superstition and gross infidelity.

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries exhibited the most flourishing æra of the hierarchy; during which men of talents and courage, like the first and second Fredericks, Kings of the Germans, struggled with unabated vigour, but ever in vain, to prescribe limits to the all-pervading power of the Roman pontiff. Boniface the Eighth, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, seems to have raised the papal authority to the highest pitch of its enormous grandeur. He wielded equally, and with like efficacy,

VOL. II.

F

both



CHAP. I. both the temporal and the spiritual sword:<sup>5</sup> his unexampled arrogance however soon alarmed the hitherto torpid submission of the secular princes; and though the struggles for superiority between the ecclesiastical and secular powers still continued for above a century, yet even the most able of the prelates who sat on the papal throne during that period, felt that their authority was thenceforth to be maintained rather by policy, than by the uncontrouled ascendancy their predecessors had exercised over the minds of men.

Had the successors of Boniface been men of common virtue and energy, that policy would probably have still prevailed; and a spiritual power might perhaps in our days have opposed an insurmountable bar to the inroads of anarchy and irreligion, of late for a time triumphant. But this power, like most others which have been subverted, owed its decline much less to the temper of the times, than to the want of sagacity in those to whom it had been entrusted. Sovereigns had now, by the decay of their nobility, and the practice they introduced of maintaining permanent forces, acquired a preponde-

<sup>5</sup> He declared to Albert of Austria, that he was both pope and emperor; and conformably to this assertion, he, at a jubilee, wore one day the pontifical, and the next the imperial insignia.

rancy

rancy which enabled them to counteract the influence of opinion; and unfortunately for Rome, the triple crown rested, for the most part, on heads which knew not how to secure it against impending ruin. Liberal writers also,<sup>6</sup> formed by the reviving taste for ancient erudition, slighted the dark cavils of scholastic casuistry, and warped the public opinion from the awe it had long entertained for the successor of the prince of the apostles. Even the proud Boniface experienced in his latter days the prevailing ascendancy of the French monarch,<sup>7</sup> and is reported to have died of grief at the superiority obtained by this rival for power. A native of France<sup>8</sup> soon after filled the chair; and, prompted by national predilection, and the gratitude he owed to the French monarch for his exaltation, in an evil hour removed the papal seat from Rome (upwards of fifteen centuries the metropolis of the western world, and the residence of near two hundred of his predecessors) to Avignon, a provincial town in France; where, had the successors of King Philip inherited his spirit, the head of the church would infallibly in a short space of time have dwindled into the

<sup>6</sup> Dante, Petrarcha, Boccacio.

<sup>7</sup> Philip le Bel; but more properly, the Bold.

<sup>8</sup> Clement the Fifth.

CHAP. subordinate rank of grand-almoner to that kingdom.  
I.

(1378.) After a series of seven popes had during seventy years resided at Avignon,<sup>9</sup> Gregory the Eleventh, compelled by the Italians, at length restored to Rome the splendour it owed to the presence of the supreme pontiff. On his death, the cardinals chose Urban the Sixth, a Venetian; who even in the better times of the pontificate would have revolted people's minds by the moroseness of his character: but the French cardinals, unwilling to forego the influence they derived from the ascendancy they had now long possessed over the head of the church, promoted another election at Fondi, where Robert Count of Geneva was chosen. This antipope assumed the name of Clement the Seventh; and repaired to Avignon, where he resided the remainder of his days.

Here began the great schism, which for upwards of thirty years distracted the church, and was the source of accumulated crimes, miseries, and deadly feuds. Insurrection, violence, and perfidy prevailed throughout the Christian world: and as if the confusion occasioned by the repeated promotion of two rival popes had not been sufficiently deplorable, Alexander the

<sup>9</sup> The Romans called this period the seventy years of exile and captivity.

Fifth,

Fifth, a third competitor, was elected at Pisa; CHAP.  
L  
 Benedict the Thirteenth, and Gregory the Twelfth, having been first formally, though not virtually, deposed. John the Twenty-third, successor to Alexander, having been compelled to fly from Rome, resorted to Bologna, at the same time that Sigismund King of the Romans visited Lombardy. The king was met at Lodi by the Cardinals Challant and Zabarella; commissioned by the pope to exhort him to co-operate in bringing about a general council for redressing the disorders of the church, which had now become intolerable. Sigismund readily acquiesced; and the city of Constance was A Council summoned.  
 chosen for the meeting, on account of its central locality, the amenity of its situation, and the facility it afforded of supplying all necessary provisions and conveniences.

Whilst messengers were conveying the summons for this assembly to the most distant parts of christendom, Sigismund, on his return to Germany, tarried some time in Switzerland; and on the fourth of July made a pompous entry into Berne, attended by the Counts of Savoy and Montferrat, a numerous retinue of men, and upwards of fourteen hundred horses. The magnificence and hospitality with which he was received and entertained, are circumstantially detailed by the historians of the time, and are 1414.  
 a curious

CHAP. I. a curious document of its manners.<sup>10</sup> After three days of incessant feasting he repaired to Soleure; and it was not till he had reached Basle, that the Swiss deputies took their leave of him. He thence proceeded to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was crowned; and then returned to Constance.

The Pope, John the Twenty-third, shewed the greatest disinclination to cross the Alps; and nothing but his firm reliance on the friendship and protection of Frederick Duke of Austria, would probably have prevailed upon him to hazard this dangerous step. The duke, whose power was formidable to all his neighbours, was at this time in the prime of life, comely in person, and of brilliant though uncultivated talents. He came to meet the pope at Trent, and soon gained his entire confidence. They advanced through the Tyrol: and on the twenty-eighth of October, in the evening, made their public entry at Constance; attended by nine cardinals, many bishops, priests, and nobles, and upwards of six hundred horses.<sup>11</sup> The concourse from all parts of Europe (even from Constantinople) of princes, prelates, and nobles of

<sup>10</sup> Considerable sums appear to have been paid by the magistrates for the hire of courtezans.

<sup>11</sup> The pope is said to have brought with him a treasure of one million of ducats.

all

all descriptions ; of traders, mechanics, and all that could administer to the convenience and gratification of such a multitude, exceeded all expectation.<sup>12</sup> Many came to exhibit their riches and magnificence ; many to display their learning and eloquence ; and still more, merely to gratify curiosity, and the love of pleasure: perhaps the fewest came for the purposes for which the assembly had been convened ; and among these, the greatest number had solely in view to frustrate those very purposes.

The council was no sooner opened than the pope perceived that his abdication, as well as that of his two competitors, would be the previous step demanded towards the intended reformation ; and conscious that the profligacy of his character, when under immediate inspection, would ill recommend him to a subsequent election, he execrated the hour when he left Italy,<sup>13</sup> and meditated a speedy retreat, vainly flattering himself that his absence would put an end to the assembly. The Duke of Austria likewise found cause to repent having approach-

<sup>12</sup> The number of strangers at Constance is said to have exceeded one hundred and fifteen thousand. There are historians who do not scruple to affirm that this was the grandest assembly ever known.

<sup>13</sup> He declared on coming within sight of Constance, ' Yonder is the trap in which foxes are taken.'

CHAP.

I.



ed so near to the monarch who considered him as a vassal. While King Sigismund; surrounded with the state and magnificence which he was apt to substitute to real grandeur, was receiving the homage of many illustrious princes and nobles, he was particularly solicitous to obtain that mark of submission from Duke Frederick, the most powerful among them. The duke, being summoned, demurred; claiming an ancient privilege, by which he was entitled to receive the investiture in his own dominions, and on horseback. The altercation this gave rise to, confirmed a previous antipathy which, while it was productive of important consequences in various parts of Europe, had a peculiar influence on the condition of the Helvetic states. The king, conscious how unable he was singly to make any impression upon the force of Austria, sent earnest solicitations to the Swiss, to join with him in humbling the power by which they had been so repeatedly insulted and oppressed. His overtures however were constantly though respectfully declined, at various congresses held for the purpose; at which all the ancient cantons (Berne only excepted, which demanded time for deliberation) declared, ‘ that  
 ‘ having recently concluded a fifty years peace  
 ‘ with the Duke of Austria, which he had no  
 ‘ ways infringed, they did not deem themselves

‘ at

‘at liberty to appear against him in the field.’<sup>14</sup> CHAP. I  
 Frederick, alarmed at the negotiations carried on by Sigismund, promised to satisfy him in all things; and in hopes of exciting the jealousy of the Confederates, offered great advantages to the king if he would assist him in humbling that stubborn people. The king’s distrust of the duke’s sincerity however prevailed; and in order to insure the good will, though he could not as yet obtain the assistance, of the cantons, he hastened to apprize them of the hostile intentions of their hereditary foe. Frederick, thus committed, made solemn declarations of his peaceable disposition; and the Swiss could not be prevailed upon to break their neutrality.

The pope, probably with a view to facilitate his escape, read publicly, and solemnly confirmed by oath, his abdication;<sup>14\*</sup> but soon after, availing himself of the diversion afforded to all ranks by a splendid tournament in a plain near Constance, he disguised himself in the habit of a groom; and, attended only by a boy, left the city and proceeded to Shaffhausen. The duke, who at this time was engaged in the lists, and

<sup>14</sup> The cantons had a few weeks before the king’s requisition refused to admit the Bishop of Constance into their league, because he was an ally of Austria.

<sup>14\*</sup> This abdication implied the condition, that the other antipopes would do the same.

was



CHAP.

I.

was purposely prolonging the combat, no sooner learnt that the pope had effected his escape, than he yielded an easy victory to his antagonist, and hastened to meet the fugitive. The consternation this flight occasioned at Constance was followed by a meeting of the prelates, in which it was decreed, 'that the present council should, notwithstanding the late defection, continue in full authority, prosecute its labours towards the union and reformation of the church, and be still considered as its immediate organ.'

The king hereupon assembled a diet of the spiritual and temporal princes of the empire, which the Duke of Austria was called upon to attend. Not having obeyed the summons, he was pronounced guilty of contumacy and rebellion, and declared in the ban of the empire; and the council even proceeded to issue a sentence of excommunication against him, enjoining the king to enforce the penalties annexed to it, and to protect the church against his impious rashness. All ties of duty towards him, and all his treaties of alliance, were declared null and void; and the fathers of the church even promised full absolution in favour of all those who should join in bringing him to condign punishment. The whole empire armed. It were tedious to enumerate all the counts, barons, imperial cities, and districts, that joined the banner of

of King Sigismund. Frederick Burgrave of Nuremberg <sup>15</sup> commanded the combined army, which advanced on the twenty-eighth of March towards Shaffhausen. The Swiss, in this general convulsion of the church and state, were not left unsolicited. They were now summoned on their allegiance to join the imperial standard, but all (except the Berners, whom the king endeavoured to bring over by grants of sundry privileges) still persisted in the faithful adherence to their treaty. CHAP.  
I

On the twenty-ninth of March the pope, hearing of the approach of the burgrave, hastened to Lauffenburg, and thence proceeded to Friburg in Brisgau: and the duke, after having admonished the burghers of Shaffhausen to remain stedfast in the allegiance they had long faithfully maintained towards his house, followed the degraded pontiff; purposing, no doubt, to avail himself of the treasures the latter still possessed, in order to raise forces in his hereditary dominions in the Argau, to oppose to the imperial army. The burgrave meanwhile advanced into Thurgau, and sent summons to Shaffhausen, which was no less dependant on the empire than on the dukes of Austria. The

<sup>15</sup> The first Elector of Brandenburg of the house of Zollern, from whom the present royal family of Prussia is descended.

city

CHAP. II. city yielded on the sixth of April, and was received into the sole and immediate protection of the empire. Many nobles and towns of Thurgau, and even the powerful Count of Tockenbourg, followed the example of that city; and the duke saw defection all around him.

Berne takes  
the Argau.

The Berners, on receiving intelligence of these successes, and hearing moreover that Zurich was wavering in its peaceful disposition, resolved, in hopes of acquiring dominions without the participation of the other cantons, to obey the summons of the empire, and to fall suddenly into the Argau. They collected all their forces from the Oberland and the banks of the Aar; and all their cobourghers from Soleure, Bienne, and Neuchattel; and, under an imperial banner, invaded that province, and made their first attack upon Zoffingen.

The Zurichers, perceiving the drift of Berne, shewed less reluctance to listen to the repeated solicitations of Sigismund. They however requested once more that they might be allowed to continue true to the observance of their fifty years truce; but added, that if the king should think fit to send them another summons, he would please to add a formal declaration of the opinions of other sovereigns, and of men eminently learned in the laws, concerning the ground

ground which might justify their breach of the treaty. The Confederates hereupon met in a congress at Schwitz, and there received the following rescript: ‘ The electors, and the princes, counts, and lords, spiritual and temporal, of the holy Roman empire, the doctors of civil and canon laws, and the plenipotentiaries of the kings Henry of England, Eric of Scandinavia, Ladislaus of Poland, and Wenceslaus of Bohemia, having met by a special commission to deliberate on the observance of the fifty years peace between the Duke of Austria and the Helvetic Confederates, after maturely weighing every motive of honour and justice, have declared their decided opinion; that the Confederates, as members of the empire, are called upon by their allegiance to join its banners whenever duly summoned: their first and most sacred duty being that which binds them to the empire and to the church; these, in all treaties whatever, being either expressly or tacitly reserved.’ The king added, ‘ that having, in the plenitude of his power as supreme head of the empire, decreed to make war against a rebel, he solemnly called upon the Confederates to act conformably to their duty, and join his forces; that he, by virtue of his sovereign authority, did previously but solemnly grant to them whatever conquests they might make upon Austria during the progress of this war;

CHAP.

I.

CHAP.

L



‘ war ; and moreover enjoined that, the duke  
 ‘ being possessed of many domains, jurisdic-  
 ‘ tions, revenues, and feudal services, within the  
 ‘ cantons, the Confederates should on no ac-  
 ‘ count admit him any longer to the enjoyment  
 ‘ of them, since they were legally forfeited to  
 ‘ the empire.’ A messenger from the council  
 of Constance came also about the same time,  
 and brought a menace of excommunication if  
 they still persisted in their tardiness. The can-  
 tons (Uri excepted, which still could not recon-  
 cile itself to a breach of faith) being thus invit-  
 ed, exhorted, commanded, and threatened, ban-  
 ished all further scruples, sent a declaration  
 of war to the duke, and drew out their forces in  
 all directions.

The ardour of the principal cantons not to be  
 behind hand in seizing on their destined prey,  
 gave uncommon celerity to their operations.  
 Berne, Zurich, and Lucern, not only strove to be  
 foremost in their conquests, but were unwilling  
 to admit of co-operation, being well aware that  
 auxiliaries would claim a right to co-regency.  
 The Berners having reduced Zoffingen, advanc-  
 ed to Arburg, where a strong citadel threatened  
 a vigorous resistance ; but hearing that the  
 forces of Zurich had passed mount Albis, and  
 were advancing towards the Argau, and that  
 Lucern had already taken possession of Sursee,  
 they resolved to blockade the castle, and proceed  
 with

with all possible expedition in their premeditated conquests. They appeared before Arau on the same day that the troops of Zurich, the forest cantons (even including Uri, which had now waved its opposition), and Glaris, met at Mellingen, on the river Reuss; which town, as well as Bremgarten, immediately surrendered to the empire and the cantons. Arau, after three days siege, yielded to the arms of Berne and Soleure. The Berners hereupon, after detaching a body to the proud castle of Lenzburg, marched on to Bruck; and in their way crowned their successes by seizing on Hapsburg, the ancient hereditary seat of the house of Austria, and once its sole domain. Brunèck, the seat of the Geslers (whose ancestor, when he trampled on the liberties of the Swiss, little dreamt of the ruinous effects of his oppressions), yielded to the first summons. Having thus in eight days taken seventeen towns, burghs, and castles, and occupied a large, populous, and well-cultivated province, with the loss of only four men, they made the conflux of the Aar and Reuss the boundary of their conquests, and returned to their respective homes. They retained the supremacy, the levies, and revenues, of all their new acquisitions; and gave to Soleure two thousand florins, and to Bienne half that sum, for their assistance.

The

CHAP.

I.

Zuric  
makes con-  
quests.

The troops of Zuric meanwhile, unwilling to interfere with Berne, ascended the fertile vale between mount Albis and the Reuss, and occupied the rich and extensive bailiwick of Knonau. Jointly with the six other cantons, they now undertook the siege of the city of Baden, the strongest and most important of the Austrian fortresses in Helvetia: in whose lofty castle the dukes had deposited their archives; in which they and other sovereigns had frequently resided; and where most of the hostile attempts against the forest cantons, the march to Morgarten, and the expedition to Sempach, had been projected. After repeated and unsuccessful efforts, which consumed above double the time that had been required to subdue the Argau, they summoned the Berners to their assistance; who without delay sent fifty horse, one thousand foot, and a body of artificers and artillery, to their assistance. These having opened a wide breach in the wall, the garrison retired into the citadel. Incessant attacks were made upon this formidable bulwark; until the brave governor, Burcard de Mansberg, hearing that the duke had yielded to his adverse fortune, and that there were no longer any hopes of being relieved, accepted of an honourable capitulation.

The duke who, during the progress of this  
disastrous

disastrous war, was with the pope at Friburg in the Brisgau, receiving from all quarters intelligence of the ruinous attacks made upon his dominions,<sup>16</sup> lost all his energy ; became incapable of listening to the remonstrances of the pope and many of his zealous friends, who strove to revive his courage ; and, yielding to the well meant but degrading persuasions of Lewis Duke of Bavaria, repaired with him to Constance.<sup>17</sup> Here this Bavarian duke, and the newly created Elector of Brandenburg, led him before a grand assembly of the prelates, which the king had summoned on the occasion. On entering the spacious hall, at the further end of which Sigismund sat in state, Duke Frederick knelt thrice ; and being asked what brought him thither, the Duke of Bavaria answered :  
 ‘ Most gracious and mighty king ; this is Duke  
 ‘ Frederick of Austria, my cousin. At his de-  
 ‘ sire, I implore your royal pardon for whatever  
 ‘ offence he may have given you and the holy  
 ‘ council : he surrenders himself, and all belong-  
 ‘ ing to him, to your mercy and pleasure ; and

<sup>16</sup> The Count Palatine, the city of Basle, the Count of Tockenbourg, the Bishop of Coire (whom he had not long before imprisoned), and many others, had now invaded his territories.

<sup>17</sup> He charged the pope, before he left him, not to return through France into Italy.



CHAP. ' offers to bring back the pope to Constance, on

I.

' condition however that his person and property shall remain inviolate.' The king, raising his voice, demanded : ' Duke Frederick, do you engage to fulfil these promises ? ' The Duke, in faltering accents, answered ; ' I do ; and ' humbly implore your royal mercy.' The tone in which he uttered these words, struck all the hearers with compassion. He next took the oath by which he surrendered all his dominions, from the Tyrol to Alsace, to the king ; submitting to hold whatever he might please to restore, solely from his favour. The king, addressing the Italian prelates, said : ' You well know, reverend fathers, the power and consequence of the Dukes of Austria : behold now what a King of the Germans can accomplish ! '

The Elector of Brandenburg hereupon repaired to Friburg, and brought back the pope to a place of safe custody near Constance. All respect for his dignity and person were now laid aside. The follies of his youth, the more criminal acts of his riper years, his lust, his avarice, all were revealed ; so that the man who during five years had been revered as the supreme arbiter of christian virtues, was now held up as a miscreant who, abandoned to all vices with and without a name, merited the abomination.

tion of all ranks of society.<sup>18</sup> Duke Frederick, CHAP.  
I.  
among all his losses, regretted none more than the surrender of Baden. He repaired to the king, and solicited that he would appropriate that city to the empire, trusting, no doubt, that it would one day be restored to him. Sigismund wrote to the Swiss; announcing that the war they had waged in his name being now concluded, he enjoined them to lay down their arms, and to deliver Baden into his possession. The Swiss answered, that the warriors who had forced that city and its strong castle to surrender, would not easily be prevailed upon to place it in other hands. The king, who not long before would gladly have given half Austria to the Confederates, heard this with apparent anger, and instantly sent forces to summon the city and castle of Baden in the name of the empire: but these troops, on arriving in sight of the place, saw with surprise and indignation the flames by which the once stately castle was now nearly consumed. At a congress at Zurich, where the several conquests were appropriated, Berne was confirmed in the possession of all it had taken in the Argau, Zurich received Knonau, and Lucern the town of Sursee with some dependencies: and after much deliberation, in which Uri, again reverting to its former maxims

<sup>18</sup> *Vas omnium peccatorum.*

CHAP.  
I.

of primitive integrity, insisted that all acquisitions should be surrendered to the emperor, and peremptorily refused to share in whatever sovereignty should be retained, it was agreed that the county of Baden and the free bailiwicks along the Reuss, from Mellingen to the frontiers of Lucern, should be held in common by six of the cantons; Berne, which had been amply portioned, and Uri, which refused all accession, being with their own consent excluded. The six cantons agreed to send alternately a bailiff into each district for the term of two years; and to name annually delegates or syndics to examine into the conduct of these officers, and to audit their accounts. These were the first dominions held in common by different cantons.

After the close of this campaign, a contribution was raised on all such as had remained at home, in order to reward those who had exposed their lives. Glaris was by the imperial authority declared wholly exempted from all the allegiance it owed to the Duke of Austria as advocate of Seckingen; the advocacy of the abbey of Einsidlen was transferred from Austria to the canton of Schwitz; and the supreme municipal jurisdictions at Zug, Unterwalden both above and below the forest, and Uri, were vested solely in their respective landmen.

dammen. Several of the lords who had been worsted in the conflict, became co-burghers. CHAP.  
I.

The king, after having once more claimed the surrender of all the conquests of the Confederates; and received for answer that when he was urgently soliciting their assistance, he had formally granted them the possession of all they might acquire; at length, for the sum of five thousand florins, made over to Berne all the towns and castles they had taken in the Argau; as an imperial mortgage which none should ever be allowed to redeem but a head of the empire, in favour of the empire, and never without the consent of the city. For four thousand five hundred florins he transferred to Zurich, with similar reservations, the towns of Mellingen, Bremgarten, and the rest of the free bailiwicks; with power to admit others of the Confederates to a joint property. Berne was soon after received into the co-sovereignty respecting the county of Baden.

Two of the antipopes having, in consequence of the decree of the council, relinquished all claim to the pontifical dignity, it now remained to obtain also the abdication of Benedict, the third competitor; who had peremptorily refused compliance, and to avoid compulsion had withdrawn from Avignon into Spain. King Sigismund, ever disposed to undertake a distant journey,

CHAP. I. journey, repaired to Perpignan ; where he met

the resolute pontiff, and urged the propriety of

1417. his submitting to the authority of a general council. Benedict maintained his claim with much address and a variety of argument, and the interview proved ineffectual. The king, after visiting the French and English courts, returned to Constance. Benedict was declared contumacious, schismatic, and a heretic ; and the assembly proceeded to deliberate on the reformation of the church : but the Italian cardinals, whose views were not so well inclined to favour that object, resisted the measure ; and after the death of Robert Bishop of Salisbury, the most strenuous of their adversaries, succeeded in their opposition. A conclave of two-and-twenty cardinals declared, on the eleventh of November, the election of Count Otho Colonna, a Roman, to the papal chair. The new pope, who, in honour of the saint whose festival was celebrated on the day of his election, assumed the name of Martin the Fifth, with infinite address found means to postpone the intended reformation ; and under various pretences, he on 1418. the twentieth of April gave his solemn benediction to the assembly, and dismissed it. Well pleased at this happy release from an authority that was now deemed superior to his own, he proceeded on his return to Italy, through Shaffhausen,

hausen, Baden, and Lenzburg; where he was met by the deputies of Berne, and conducted in great state through Soleure to their city. Here he tarried ten days, and was entertained with all the splendour the burghers were wont to display on similar occasions. After remaining three days at Friburg, he repaired through Lausanne to Geneva; and thence to Florence, where he fixed his residence. On his way, and particularly at Berne, he celebrated high mass with all the pomp and solemnity of hierarchial magnificence, conferred sundry privileges on churches and monasteries, and appointed penitentiaries with ample powers to grant absolution to repentant sinners. He offered to sanction marriages within the degrees of kindred prohibited by the canons; but was reminded that he could indeed pardon, but was not allowed to authorize transgressions.

Except in its unjustifiable proceedings against John Huss and Jerom of Prague (in which Sigismund, who had granted safe conducts to these deluded victims, is perhaps more to blame than the prelates), it must be acknowledged that the council of Constance contributed essentially to the restoration of order in the church. The reformation in the ecclesiastical discipline, which was one of its principal objects, was not indeed effected; but a prospect was held out that another

CHAP. I. other council would ere long accomplish this desirable end. It is memorable that during this immense concourse, which continued three years and a half assembled in a town of no great extent, perfect tranquillity, health, and plenty, never ceased to prevail within its walls; and that although the morals appear to have been abundantly relaxed, they did not however contaminate those of the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, the disparity perhaps being too great for imitation. Of the simplicity of the Swiss at the present period we have the evidence of an eye-witness;<sup>19</sup> who paints in lively but not very delicate colours their genuine hilarity, and their unsuspecting freedom of intercourse between the sexes; features which many have considered as indications of primitive and innocent manners.

War of  
Raron.

During the sitting of this council, troubles broke out on the frontiers of Italy, which had well-nigh involved the Confederacy in a civil war; and was the first instance of the difficulty that ever after obstructed the reconciliation of the jarring interests, and repugnant claims, of the many members and co-burghers that composed this collective and complicated state.

<sup>19</sup> Fr. Poggio Epist. ad Nicolaum; "Omnibus una mens, tristitiam fugere, quærere hilaritatem."

Guiscard

Guiscard de Raron, a baron of one of the most ancient indigenous families, was second to none in the Valais in riches and authority. He was the chief magistrate of his province, co-burgher of Berne, and either uncle or father to the bishop of Sion. Although a man of great rectitude, yet his proud and contemptuous spirit, and still more his avowed partiality for the house of Savoy, gave umbrage to the people: the hardiest of whom, those of the upper dizains,<sup>20</sup> rose in open rebellion;<sup>21</sup> and sent to

CHAP.  
I.

<sup>20</sup> The Valais was, till within this year, divided into ten dizains or tithings, seven in the upper, and three in the lower district. The latter were in fact subjects to the former. At what time this distribution took place does not appear upon record.

<sup>21</sup> The mode in which the authors of the commotion effected their purpose is singular, though analogous to what popular leaders ever practise in order to concentrate the various grievances complained of into one single image, word, or sentence. They produced a club, on which a human face was rudely sculptured, and tied it to a young birch tree, which they plucked up by the root. This they called *the Mace*, and set it up as an emblem of the injured people. The figure was asked who it had chiefly to complain of; and the names of the principal families being called over, when that of the person aimed at was mentioned, it was made to bow profoundly in token of humiliation, and earnest entreaty for relief. All those who took compassion on it drove a hob-nail into the trunk of the tree, thereby denoting their number and firm resolve, without betraying their names. When the number was

thought



CHAP. I. their neighbours of Uri and Underwalden to propose a league, and demand assistance.

The baron, when these Swiss confederates had of late entered the vale of Osola, had spoken so slightly of their valour, declaring that had it fallen to his lot to oppose them not one of them would have returned to his native mountains, that resenting the insult, they listened to the proposal of the insurgents, and prepared for effectual aid. Raron, in hopes of restoring tranquillity, surrendered his civil office, and even withdrew out of the valley; but reports were industriously spread that he was gone in quest of foreign aid, and would soon return and subdue the country. He had in fact repaired to Berne, to claim the support to which he was entitled as a co-burglier; but he found the minds of the rulers too much intent upon their expedition into the Argau, to obtain a favourable hearing. He then applied to Amadeus of Savoy, whom Sigismund had this year raised to the rank of duke, and who immediately

(1416.)

thought sufficient, this pageant was carried throughout the country, and placed before such houses and castles as were doomed to destruction. Whoever reprobated the violences committed by the insurgents was threatened with the Mace; and the person who was the principal object of the conspiracy, had no option but that of flying the country.

caused

caused his troops to occupy the episcopal castles ; whilst Raron sent all the forces he could collect, and with them his consort (a lady of the illustrious house of Razuns in Rhætia), his children, his domestics and best effects, into the strong castle of Sion, where the bishop likewise thought it prudent to take refuge. Havock and devastation prevailed now throughout the devoted country.

The baron returned to Berne ; and by dint of remonstrances and entreaties, and through the mediation of Sigismund (who, as head of the empire, committed to the canton the re-establishment of order and tranquillity in the Valais), obtained a promise of immediate succour. This being made known, some of the people of Frutigen, a valley of the Oberland, proceeded to acts of hostility, and seized some effects that were conveying into the Valais. The exasperated insurgents, after investing the castle of Sion, climbed in full armour up the mountain Gemmi, which the hardest travellers never attempt without trepidation, and recovered the effects. Their allies of the forest cantons meanwhile, reluctant to engage openly in a cause which was opposed by Berne, agreed with the people of the dizain of Gombs to renew their attack upon the vale of Osola. They prevailed upon some burghers of Zurich and Lucern

CHAP. I. cern to join them, and found little difficulty in driving the troops of Milan and Savoy out of the valley. A peasant of Underwalden brought back the banner of Savoy, and hung it up in the church of his village.

A tumultuous congress of the Confederates was now held at Lucern; in which the reciprocal conduct of the contending parties was severely arraigned, and as strenuously vindicated. The Berners declared that no power should induce them to withhold the protection they owed to a co-burgher against unlawful violence. The forest cantons asked whether the co-burghership of Raron was to be preferred to the perpetual confederacy? The neutral cantons interfered, and procured a temporary cessation; one of the preliminary articles of which was the surrender of the castle of Sion. The baroness, her children and domestics, and the bishop, with part of their effects, descended in mournful silence, and had scarce passed the gates when they beheld the castle involved in flames. They joined Raron at Berne.

The banner of Berne at length drew out: and the senate summoned the Confederates, even those in league with the Valais; alleging that the confederacy was prior to this league, and claimed the preference. Raron repaired to the Oberland; and his manners being softened by adversity,

adversity, obtained many adherents ; who joined him in a sudden expedition down Mount Sanetsch to Sion, where they drove the inhabitants from their dinners, and set fire to the city. He burnt several other towns, villages, and castles ; but hearing that a force was coming down from the upper dizains, he re-ascended the mountain loaded with spoil. The Valaisans in their turn came to Upper Hasli, and drove away large flocks of sheep. The Berners having collected all their co-burghers and allies from Friburg, Soleure, Bienne, and Neuchattel, and having even been joined by three hundred Schwitzers, descended, thirteen thousand in number, partly into the dizain of Gombs near the Furca, and partly into the lower district of Siders. The people of Uri and Underwalden, being deterred by the resolute conduct of Berne, though they paid no regard to the summons, yet abstained from all further interference in the contest. The insurgents were now awed ; and seeing most of their houses on fire, and their cattle in the hands of the invaders, shewed a disposition to relent. Thomas Bundt however, a common peasant, and Jacob Minichow a parish priest, two names that must be rescued from oblivion, collected six hundred men ; and made so effectual a stand at the village of Ulrichen, near the upper end of the valley, that the

CHAP. I. the Betners, being perhaps satiated with carnage, and apprehensive of being cut off by the approach of winter, returned over the mountains. They were pursued by five hundred Valaisans, by whom their rear guard, had it not been supported by the main body, would infallibly have been discomfited and slaughtered.

These alternate successes and defeats, and the misery of the wretched inhabitants, which now bordered upon absolute desolation, disposed all parties to turn a willing ear to the remonstrances of the neutral cantons, and at a congress at Zug agreed to a general pacification. The Duke of Savoy was chosen arbitrator, and  
 1420. on the twenty-fifth of January he issued the following award: ‘The Baron of Raron shall be restored to his territorial possessions; and the dizains shall pay him ten thousand florins for the losses he has sustained in rents and moveables; and to the Chapter of Sion four thousand, to Berne ten thousand, and to the arbitrator one thousand florins, for costs and damages.’ The Upper Valaisans, urged by those of the lower dizains who lay open to the attacks of Berne and Savoy, and by their Swiss allies who had become anxious for the maintenance of the confederacy, accepted the terms with sullen discontent. Raron recovered his lands and castles; but never his consequence, or the confidence of the  
 the

the people : he forsook his native soil, and died in a foreign land. Both parties thus suffered detriment and disappointment ; the usual consequences of domestic broils, where strangers are called in to compose the differences. CHAP.  
I.

The troubles in the Valais had not long subsided, when the nation met with an overthrow of which their history had as yet afforded no example, and which pointed out to them the precarious tenure and evil tendency of territories beyond their natural limits. The possession of Bellinzona, the portal of the Alps, must ever be considered as an object of the first consequence by its neighbouring states : and particularly by the people of the higher Alps ; who, unless they are perfectly secure of the free importation of corn and other necessities from the rich plains of Lombardy, must at all times lie at the mercy of the sovereign who commands that pass. It had long been held as an imperial fief by the family of Rusca, and the Barons of Sax ; and of late it had been ceded, by ambiguous contracts, both to the Duke of Milan<sup>22</sup> and to the forest cantons, who reciprocally prepared to maintain their respective claims by the most vigorous means. The Swiss (who were in possession of the town, and secure in the offer they had made to refer all differences concern- War of Bellinzona.  
1499,

<sup>22</sup> Filippo Maria Visconti.

ing

CHAP.

I



ing the validity of the respective titles, to the head of the empire) had left in it a small garrison for its defence ; which, unsuspecting of any hostile intentions, were remiss in the vigilance that became their situation. The duke, who for upwards of two years had been watching a favourable opportunity, and had by ample gifts gained many of the principal inhabitants, found great facility in occupying the town and castle of Bellinzona ; nor did he meet with much resistance in penetrating into the vallies of Osola and Levina, even to the foot of the St. Gothard. The men of Uri and Underwalden were no sooner apprized of this, than they sent summons to the confederate cantons, to assist them in avenging this affront upon their nation. The answer, which they heard with sorrow and surprise, was, ‘ that most of the cantons were ‘ ready to march with them as far as the Mount ‘ Platifer at the entrance of the Leventine vale, ‘ but that Bellinzona was not even named in ‘ the perpetual league ; and that they would ‘ not advance until Uri and Underwalden had ‘ taken proper measures for the abundant supply and cheapness of provisions.’ At a congress held at Lucern, the Urners and Underwalders replied, ‘ that though Bellinzona was ‘ not mentioned in the perpetual league, it was ‘ yet within the limits which had been virtually ‘ described

‘described in that compact; that without the CHAP.  
‘security of the pass into Lombardy, the league <sup>1.</sup> ~~~~~  
‘would be nugatory; that such nice distinc-  
‘tions ill became the good faith and fraternal  
‘concord they had sworn to maintain towards  
‘each other; that in short their arms had been  
‘insulted, and the fame of Helvetic valour had  
‘been tarnished; and that those who could  
‘tamely submit to such an insult, ill deserved  
‘the name of Swiss Confederates.’ They spoke  
so forcibly that all the cantons (Berne only ex-  
cepted, which had never yet interfered in the  
concerns of the Italian conquests) agreed to  
arm, and proceeded without delay. In a few  
days, numbers of vessels crossed the lake of the  
forest cantons; with the auxiliaries from Lu-  
cern, Zug, and Zurich, and even the small com-  
munity of Gersau. The archers were sent on  
before; the main body, consisting of three  
thousand men, followed; and those who came  
after were to form the rear. The force of Mi-  
lan was composed of six thousand horse and  
eighteen thousand foot; commanded by Count  
Francesco Bussone di Carmagnuola, and under  
him Agnolo della Pergola, two of the most ex-  
perienced generals of the age. Carmagnuola’s  
greatest care was to conceal his numbers; and  
for that purpose he caused such silence to be  
observed in the garrison, that the Swiss were



CHAP. led to believe that the town had been evacuated.

I.

~~~~~ Their main body advanced with confident security down the valley. The Schwitzers, who formed the rear, were one day's march behind the army. All were resolute and dauntless : but the genuine spirit of the confederacy, the perfect harmony that combined all their efforts and made them jointly co-operate towards a single object, did no longer animate them ;— after Uri, in the late war with Austria, had laid claim to greater rectitude than the rest of the cantons ; and Schwitz, in Raron's war, had marched with Berne against the people of Ghombs, allied to the other forest cantons ; the mutual confidence between these congenial states had sensibly relaxed, and discordant views became manifest in all their councils. The main body taxed the Schwitzers with unnecessary delay ; and these, so far from being urged by this reproach, tarried a whole night at Pollegio, pretending that they must wait for the reinforcement from Glaris. The main body, irritated, and perhaps now emulous to conquer without the assistance of their tardy brethren, proceeded down the Ticino to where, near Bellinzona, it receives from a Rhætian valley the river Muesa, separated before this junction by a long ridge of lofty mountains. Carmagnuola knew all their motions, a country so rugged affording

affording abundance of opportunities for reconnoitring. He sent a body of horse over the ridge of mountains; which fell unawares upon, and led away the whole convoy of provisions, that followed the main body unsuspecting and unguarded. Had the Schwitzers come up, this loss would not have been sustained. The Swiss army was hereby reduced to the alternative either to send out detachments for a supply of provisions, and thus weaken its small numbers; or else to venture an immediate battle, perhaps on disadvantageous terms, and without an option of the mode of attack. The troops of Glaris, under Jobst Tschudi their landamman, joined the Schwitzers in the evening. He reprobated their tardiness; and his infantry not being able to keep up with him, he proceeded with thirty horse, and arrived at the main army soon after midnight.

CHAP.  
I.

On the morning of the thirtieth of June, the festival of St. Paul, from which this fatal conflict derived its appellation, four banners of the Confederates were displayed at Arbedo, near Bellinzona: Lucern in front; Uri and Unterwalden in the centre; and Zug behind, backed by a mountain. The loss of the convoy having been ascribed to the Avoyer of Lucern, on whom the command of the army had been conferred, the troops lost all confidence in him;

Battle of  
St. Paul.

CHAP. his own presence of mind also forsook him, and

I.

subordination became wholly relaxed. The numbers of the enemy being as yet unknown, six hundred of the Confederates ventured, without order or permission, to go in quest of provisions up the Muesa, into the valley of Misox: the rest remained; no ways apprehensive of danger, unprepared, and inattentive to the commands of their superiors. Carmagnuloa, who was apprized of this state of the confederate army, resolved on an attack before they could be reinforced by the rear, or headed by a more able commander. Pergola fell impetuously upon them with the cavalry; but they, regardless of their chief, and relying only on their personal valour, resisted the shock with firmness and success. They levelled their blows chiefly at the legs of the horses, and thus threw the ranks into confusion. Pergola, by order of his chief, now sent away his horses and engaged on foot. The Lucerners, overpowered by numbers, still stood the conflict; many of them fell; and in the midst of them their banneret, seeing himself surrounded by dangers, rolled up his flag and stood upon it, firmly resolved not to resign it but with his life. He not only preserved it, but his people even succeeded to capture the chief banner of Milan. Carmagnuola now advanced with threefold numbers, and in close

close array, upon the main column of the Helvetic army. Meanwhile the Zugers, together with Tschudi and his thirty Glarners, and some men of the Leventine vale who had joined them, made a retrograde movement, in order to gain the heights behind them ; but these they found already occupied by the Milanese, and dangers impending on every side. The Avoyer of Lucern and some of his men, preferring at this awful moment a few years of inglorious life to the immortal fame of an heroic death, turned their halberds, fixed them in the ground, and surrendered prisoners of war. Others were called upon to imitate this prudent example, but they scornfully rejected every offer. John Rott, Landamman of Uri, fell with honour, and at a happy moment for his peace of mind; his son having a few years after been expelled from the high office in which he had succeeded his father, for peculation and other treasonable practices. The banner of Uri fell with Henry Puntiner its bearer; but his people closed round his corpse, and preserved it. Peter Colin, Landamman and Banneret of Zug, fought desperately at the head of his countrymen, and was slain. The eldest of his two sons, who fought by his side, drew the banner from under him; and waved it on high, streaming with his father's blood. He too met his doom; and his

CHAP. his friend, John Landwing, wrenched the banner

I.  
~~~~~

from his dying hands, and once more raised it above the combatants. This banner, stained with the blood of the Colins, was in our days still preserved at Zug; where, except in one instance, it has on every occasion been entrusted to a Colin, and in that only instance to a Landwing. Three hundred and ninety-six of the Confederates perished in this bloody conflict, and thrice that number fell on the part of the Milanese. Towards evening, the six hundred who had gone upon the foraging party returned full speed, and threatened the rear of the enemy. But the Muesa, which they had to cross, had suddenly overflowed its banks; and the only bridge on which they might have crossed it had been thrown down. Carmagnola however, aware of the havock that would still be necessary to insure the possession of the field, withdrew into Bellinzona. The battle began at nine in the morning, and lasted till the hour of vespers; when the banners of Schwitz and Glaris joined the shattered bands.

The survivors passed the night in sullen grief and discontent: among the mangled bodies of the Colins, Rotts, and Puntiners; and their many fathers, brethren, and friends, that strewed the field. The Schwitzers indeed reproached their confederates with their untimely impetuosity;

osity; but amply participating in the sorrow that filled their breasts, insisted that none should return without first inflicting an avenging blow on the Italians: but provisions ran short, many were reluctant, Carmagnuola would not come forth out of the city, and they had no implements for a siege. They hence resolved to postpone their vengeance, and to return into their mountains. The Schwitzers, loth to join in this lamentable march, ravaged the country round Bellinzona, and proceeded to the vale of Osola.

Never yet had the Confederates made a retreat so dismal. They were not pursued, and the enemy even left them in the possession of the Leventine vale; but their reception at home was mournful and humiliating. A dead silence prevailed in all the villages through which they bent their disconsolate steps. The magistrates of Lucern, foreseeing the lamentations of the women and children at the arrival of the small remnant of their bands, ordered that no one should appear in the streets at that distressful moment. The people resorted to the towers and tops of the houses, and gazed across the lake. Instead of seven vessels, in which their men had departed, only two came in sight. The banner, indeed appeared, but it was torn and bloody. The men stepped on shore unwelcomed and untended,

CHAP.

I

CHAP. tended, nor were they inclined to boast of the  
 I. capture of the banner of Milan. The house of  
 the avoyer was with difficulty saved from instant  
 demolition. His conduct was investigated by  
 the senate; and he was declared to be a man  
 destitute of vigour and ability, but not legally  
 criminal. They were most culpable who had  
 raised him to his station.

After three years discordant meetings and  
 ineffectual negotiations, Peterman Rysig, a pri-  
 vate individual of Schwitz, assembled all who  
 knew and confided in his spirit and conduct;  
 1425. and in the month of October led five hundred  
 men over mount St. Gothard, turned off at  
 Airola, appeared before Domo in the vale of  
 Osola before the Milanese had any intimation of  
 his approach, and took the place without oppo-  
 sition. The Duke of Milan, deceived by artful  
 favourites, had discarded Carmagnuola, and  
 feared lest his resentment might prompt this  
 veteran to countenance the invaders. He hence  
 raised the whole force of Milan, and sent it  
 against this feeble band. His leaders invested  
 the town; summoned the garrison: and their  
 threats being disregarded, erected a gallows to  
 shew the fate that awaited the stubborn moun-  
 taineers. This being reported at Schwitz, the  
 canton sent its banner, and summoned the Con-  
 federates. Even Berne now listened to the  
 earnest

earnest solicitations of the forest cantons ; and sent five thousand men through the Valais, where they were treated as if they had never been enemies. These forced two entrenchments of the Milanese, and penetrated into the vale of Osola ; where they were joined by the forces of the other cantons, who had meanwhile come down the St. Gothard. Fifteen thousand Confederates were now assembled, and approached the camp of the besiegers : but these, dreading the impression of so formidable a host, withdrew hastily, and left the Swiss masters of the whole valley.

The duke upon this sued for peace. The Swiss more skilful in arms than in negotiation, made an accommodation ; by which, after having held the best part of them during four-and-twenty years, they surrendered the valleys of Osola, Bellinzona, and even Levina, to the duke. A sum was allowed them for the private immoveable property they left behind, and various commercial privileges were conceded to them by Milan. Zoppo, great chamberlain to the duke, had previously brought about a separate treaty with Lucern, Uri, and Underwalden ; and perhaps found out by what arms their rulers were most vulnerable. Corruption is a charge more frequently brought forward in free states than in monarchies : not that



CHAP.  
I.

that the latter are more exempt from it ; but because in them, the proceedings being secret, it is more easily concealed. This treaty was a mercantile, and not a political one ; and yet no canton perhaps was greatly to blame, for they all saw how little dependence they could place on each other in wars of so distant and partial a nature.

Rhätia.

While freedom had now for upwards of a century been making rapid strides throughout the cities, plains, and valleys of Helvetia, the Rhæti groaned still under the oppressive sway of powerful barons ; and felt the scourge with redoubled poignancy, it being inflicted by inhuman substitutes, ever emulous to excel their masters in arrogance and cruelty. Henry Count of Werdenberg, desirous to extinguish every spark of the glow of freedom which still prevailed among his people, suffered his delegates to practise all manner of humiliating insults, and to enforce their stern decrees by every kind of degrading punishment. He possessed several castles in the valley of Schams, on the upper branch of the Rhine. The keeper of one of them compelled the villagers to eat out of the same troughs with their swine ; another sent his cattle into the cornfields of the neighbouring farmers, and because one of them killed some of the intruders, he detained him in a long and grievous

grievous confinement ; a third commanded Adam de Camogasch, a reputable neighbour, to surrender his daughter to his inordinate desires ; and many carried their wanton licentiousness so far, as to compel the parents and husbands to witness their own dishonour. This was deemed the more insufferable, because at this period continency was still considered as a predominant feature in the morals of the people. They were patient and silent : but they felt when the measure of their ignominy and oppression was full ; and then had recourse to means which reason justified, and their right arm supplied. Camogasch, the enraged father of the object of the keeper's desires, called together some trusty friends ; concealed them in proper places ; and led his daughter, dressed in her best array, towards the castle. The keeper, seeing them approach, came forth to meet them ; and instantly paid with his life the forfeit of his intended insult. The nobles who authorized these excesses were moreover, by their own reciprocal enmities, the cause of incessant disturbances and depredations in the country. The bishop and city of Coire, the Counts of Werdenberg and Tockenbourg, and the Baron of Razuns, were at constant strife. No provision was made for the domestic security of individuals ; no restraint put upon the robbers and assassins

CHAP. I. assassins who incessantly infested the highways; and the exasperated people, harassed equally by their oppressive lords and the no less inhuman foes of these oppressors, were driven to the extreme of despair and indignation.

The bishop, dissatisfied because in an award between him and his metropolitan city, the arbitrators of Zurich would not deviate from the paths of justice, entered into an alliance with Austria, in order to awe his people into submission. The danger of this alliance; the restless spirit of the prelate; the rigour and overbearing pride of the nobles, and of their obdurate delegates; the total want of rule, order, and security; at length induced a few discreet but dauntless peasants in a remote valley, to join in support of their natural rights, and seek the redress without which their condition had now become insufferable.

The whole valley on the lower branch of the head of the Rhine, from the town of Ilanz up to its source, consists of a narrow dell, sunk deep between stupendous rocks and precipices, intersected by numbers of foaming torrents, and abundantly clothed with extensive woods, among which many contracted glades afford rich pastures for the cattle, from which the inhabitants derive their chief subsistence. In this sublime region, near a spreading grove, stands  
a village

a village called Truns. In this solitary grove, and at the dead of night, assembled a small number of the neighbouring villagers, and conferred on the means of relieving themselves from their present abject condition. Upright but fearless, they felt and reprobated the indignity of being trampled upon by vile and remorseless sycophants : uninfluenced by selfish views, not one of them profited by the successful issue of their hazardous enterprize : their names are no where recorded ; no sepulchral inscriptions mark the spots where their bones have mouldered ; the league of which they have been the founders is the sole monument of their social virtue. Genuine benevolence, and an abhorrence of cruelty and injustice, were their prime motives ; but besides these they were stimulated also by the manly impulse resulting from the various connections of father, friend, and countryman, which Providence has wisely implanted in our nature, and without which our love of liberty would soon degenerate into the ferocious ardour for independence that agitates the lion and the tiger.<sup>23</sup> The manners of

CHAP.  
I.

<sup>23</sup> In nothing perhaps have the late boasted renovators of liberty swerved more from truth and reason, than in having ever applauded the sacrifice of domestic affections to extravagant principles of patriotism and universal benevolence.

this

CHAP. I. this Alpine people are peculiar to their soil and climate: inured by toil, they are still more invigorated by their constant exposure to a clear healthy atmosphere: strangers to luxury, their moderate wants are amply supplied by their labour and industry; their affections, from a difficulty of communication even among adjacent valleys, are circumscribed within narrow limits, and hence they are as firm and permanent as their encircling rocks: exhilarated by the majestic scenery that surrounds them, they are sedately cheerful, but fierce and implacable when wantonly insulted. Such were the men who met at Truns. It has been handed down traditionally, that they were the elders of their respective villages; men advanced in years, with long grey beards, and dressed in the grey homespun clothing of their country. Unawed by the danger which they knew impended, they were not however wholly destitute of powerful abettors; their meeting being reported to have been held with the previous knowledge and concurrence of Peter de Pontaningen, Abbot of Disentis, one of the principal proprietors in this valley, who in the sequel was one of the chief promoters of the league. His name, however uncouth, is surely entitled to a conspicuous place in the annals of humanity.

The fixed resolve of these intrepid men soon  
spread

CHAP.

I.



1424.

spread from vale to vale, and the communities on the three upper branches of the Rhine came to a speedy and unanimous determination to compel the lords to listen to the voice of justice; and for this purpose they availed themselves of the favourable moment when their own dissensions rendered these lords feeble and tractable. Towards the end of the winter, before the shepherds are wont to drive their cattle into the mountains, they sent the chief of their elders to the nobles, with an open avowal of their determined purpose, and offers to consult with them on the establishment of a free and equitable constitution. The Abbot of Disentis, who himself was not always exempt from the pressure of the despotic lords, instantly acceded. The barons of Razuns (four brethren), aware that the tide could not be stemmed, and having themselves (as well as their father) more than once experienced the advantages of an union with the country people of Glaris, shewed no reluctance. John Count of Sax, one of the most powerful among the nobles, whose domains had once extended as far as Bellinzona,<sup>24</sup> admitted the justice of the demand; and perceiving moreover that some advantages might accrue from his securing the hearts of the people against his

<sup>24</sup> See pp. 31 and 33 of this volume.

rival

CHAP. rival compeers, willingly assented. The aged  
 1. Count Hugh of Werdenberg, of the black banner, (brother to the generous Rudolph, who had headed the Appenzellers at the Stoss) was foremost in his concurrence; but Count Henry, of the white banner, whose father had been defeated at Næfels, and whose delegates in the valley of Schams had been chiefly instrumental in exciting the indignation of the people, was peremptory in his refusal. His dependants however at Lax, in the valley of Schams, and in Rheinwalden, inflexible in their resolve, which they knew to be a just one, paid no regard to his dissent.

The Grey  
 League.

About the middle of March, the Abbot of Disentis, three of the barons of Razuns, the Counts John of Sax and Hugh of Werdenberg, many nobles and vassals, and the deputies of the communities in the circumjacent valleys, being assembled under a spreading lime-tree<sup>25</sup> at the aforesaid village of Truns, planned and ratified the following league; which was still in force when the late apostles of liberty sent their hostile bands into these remote valleys.


‘ We all agree, without respect to persons, or  
 ‘ distinction of ranks, to be true and faithful  
 ‘ friends and confederates; to aid each other

<sup>25</sup> This venerable tree was still in being, and revered, in the month of October 1787.

‘ with

' with our lives, our property, our arms, and  
 ' best advice. Equity shall be our guide in all  
 ' our mutual dealings. We will effectually pro-  
 ' vide for the security of the roads, and for the  
 ' tranquillity of our valleys. No one shall, on  
 ' any pretence whatever, molest another in his  
 ' person or liberty, or invade his property,  
 ' without a decree of the magistrate to whom  
 ' the person accused is amenable. We promise  
 ' and swear to maintain every Confederate,  
 ' whether ecclesiastic or secular, noble or ple-  
 ' beian, rich or poor, in the secure enjoyment  
 ' of his rights, possessions, and usages. None  
 ' of us will interfere in the election of an Abbot  
 ' of Disentis, the Chapter alone having the right  
 ' to confer that dignity. In case of unavoidable  
 ' dissensions it is hereby decreed, in order to  
 ' prevent the effusion of blood, that arbitrators  
 ' be named; three by the abbot, three by the  
 ' Barons of Razuns, three by the Count of Sax,  
 ' two by the communities in the Rheinwald,  
 ' and two by those of the district of Flims:  
 ' these shall first attempt an amicable accommo-  
 ' dation; and if this should not succeed, the  
 ' majority shall pronounce a sentence, and we  
 ' all bind ourselves to compel whoever may be  
 ' contumacious. In matters of great concern,  
 ' all the Confederates will assemble at Truns,  
 ' either in person or by deputies; and in order



CHAP. I.  ' that our children and distant posterity may be  
 ' well acquainted with the conditions of this  
 ' compact, it shall be solemnly renewed and  
 ' confirmed by oath every ten years; it shall be  
 ' as permanent as our vales and mountains. No  
 ' one shall be admitted into this league without  
 ' the assent of the whole Confederacy. The  
 ' abbot and his chapter reserve their previous  
 ' conventions with their friends of the forest  
 ' cantons; and the Count of Sax and Barons  
 ' of Razuns, their engagements with the Duke  
 ' of Milan.'

Such is the covenant which, from the high situation of the country it has united, has been called the *upper league*; and also perhaps from the ancient appellation of some group of mountains,<sup>26</sup> or from the colour of the clothing of its first founders, the *grey league*. There are traces of older associations among these people; but in the same manner as the battle of Morgarten has formed the epoch of the Helvetic Confederacy though prior engagements are known to have existed, so has the day at Truns obliterated all former compacts, and stamped the æra of the Grison republic.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *Alpes Græie*, also *Campi Can'ui*.

<sup>27</sup> The whole of Upper Rhætia has since derived from this last appellation; the name of *Grisones*, or the *Grey Ones*.

The

The tranquillity and security this league insured to all who shared in its protection, soon gave rise to other federal unions of a similar nature; framed upon the same fundamental principle of mutual defence, though differing (like all the subordinate members of the Helvetic body) in some of their particular institutions. In each of them the nobles preserved all their rights and prerogatives, and every community its customs and immunities: tyranny alone was checked, and effectually restrained. The people of the extensive district since called *the league of the house of God*, confirmed each other in their privileges, which no bishop since their first compact<sup>28</sup> had ventured to violate: and Frederick Count of Tockenbourg, the chief proprietor in the valley of Pretigau, and on the lofty plain of Davos, being at variance with the Duke of Austria and the lords of Razuns and Werdenberg, wisely conceived that his best prop and security would be the affections of his people; and readily assented to a similar union in this and some adjacent districts, which afterwards obtained the name of the *league of the ten jurisdictions*. Not content however with this accession of relative importance, he acquired additional influence from a twenty years alliance with Conrad Planta landamman, and the

CHAP.

I.

League of  
the House  
of God.League of  
the Ten Ju-  
risdictions.

1428.

<sup>28</sup> Anno 1396. see p. 35 of this volume.

CHAP. I. community of Engadine; which, though a member of another league, strengthened however by this bond the general confederation, the benefits of which the people now felt and joyfully acknowledged.

Council of  
Basle.

1431.

After repeated but ineffectual struggles on the part of the hierarchy against the infuriated Hussites, in which the Swiss, at the requisition of the empire, bore some part; and after a long and delusive expectation of the reform of ecclesiastical discipline; which the council of Constance had enjoined, and which the reluctance of the pontiff had eluded at the assemblies of Pavia and Sienna; another general council was at length convened at Basle: which, under the pontificate of Eugene the Fourth, who never ceased to counteract its proceedings, but chiefly by means of the exertions of the venerable Cardinal Julian Cæsarini its president, effected the alterations which were now become indispensable. The fathers sat thirteen years in this now splendid city; during which, to the great praise of its magistrates, the most perfect order and tranquillity was preserved, and no want of provisions or accommodations (objects of no small difficulty in those times) was ever experienced. The prelates, having decreed the supremacy of the council over the Popes, succeeded by moderation and reasonable concessions to soften, though

though they could not wholly extinguish, the  
resentment of the Hussites; many of whom  
could never reconcile themselves to the perfidious and cruel treatment of their first teacher.  
But their chief care was to frame salutary regulations; which, had the hierarchy been in the sequel guided by men of wisdom and probity, would infallibly have restored its lustre and beneficent influence. Although this council did not immediately affect the political state of Swisserland, yet so numerous, so splendid, and so important an assembly within its precincts, was not without some influence on the manners and condition of the higher ranks of the people; and hence, no doubt, deserves to be recorded as an epoch in its history.

CHAP.  
I.

CHAP.

## CHAP. II.

*War of Zurich.*CHAP.  
II.

**A**FTER having been gratified with a display of the inflexible rectitude, the valour, and the favourable incidents, which through abundance of dangers led the Helvetic tribes to a degree of domestic felicity and political consequence, to which a less share of energy would never have conducted them; it must be painful to the benevolent mind to dwell upon a period when sinister views and discordant interests have warped the rulers of this honest and at this time happy people, from the line of conduct to which it was indebted for its splendid successes and salutary establishments; impelled it to intestine commotions, and all the horrors of a civil war, and endangered the very existence of the union to which it owed its prosperity. Such was the period immediately after the extinction of the male line of the Counts of Tockenbourg; when, numbers of competitors laying claim to its rich inheritance, an appeal was made to the sword; which for upwards of thirteen years spread devastation throughout the country, and  
excited

excited animosities which extended their baneful influence far into the succeeding century.<sup>29</sup>

CHAP.  
II.

The fundamental maxim of the Confederacy, 'to secure friends, and not to compel subjects,' had now, as has appeared in some preceding chapters, been relinquished in many instances; and ample territorial acquisitions had already excited the pride of some, and the jealousy of others, among the cantons. Specious pretences were not wanting for thus deviating from that sober and salutary principle; and it must be allowed, that without the extensive possessions with which Berne had encircled its city, the nobles would infallibly have succeeded to crush the federal compact to which they, not without reason, ascribed their rapid decay. But besides this cause of rivalry among the cantons, another bond of union, 'the danger of the joint efforts of many powerful adversaries,' had now been loosened by the decline and total extinction of many of the illustrious families, against whom they had so frequently contended, and the expulsion of the Duke of Austria out of the best part of his possessions in Helvetia. This state of security soon induced them to turn their thoughts to objects of private advantage, or at

<sup>29</sup> From the year 1436 to the perpetual alliance with France in 1516.

best

CHAP.  
II.

best to conceive that a tender regard for the welfare of their particular city or canton was all the patriotism that could now be demanded of them. Each canton thus gradually acquired a distinct character.<sup>30</sup> Berne became lordly and domineering; but this very spirit, and the prevailing influence of that city, proved in the sequel the main spring of the consequence of the confederacy as a state. Zurich carried on an extensive trade, and hence suffered its commercial views to warp all its public as well as private deliberations; and we accordingly seldom find it in unison with the rest of the Confederates. The three forest cantons preserved indeed their pastoral simplicity; but their emulation being once excited, even Mount St. Gothard was not high enough to restrain Uri and Underwalden

<sup>30</sup> Their rulers, and not the people at large, must be here understood. These, cheerfully contented in the serene enjoyment of their dear-bought liberty, confined within a narrow circle of communication, and chiefly addicted to their domestic concerns, have never suffered new-fangled doctrines, or specious political speculations, to bias or perplex their honest purposes. Should their modern reformers succeed to guide them into new paths of morality, the late conduct of the Swiss guards at the Louvre will probably be the last instance of the sincerity and inviolable truth to their engagements, which, together with undaunted courage, have ever been considered as the distinctive features of the national character of this people.

from

from attempting conquests in Italy, in which they were feebly assisted by their allies. Lastly, as the fabric of the confederacy extended, its different parts necessarily became more complicated; and a perplexing difficulty often arose, in what manner to reconcile the welfare of the communities, with the regard for the security of property, which was ever held as inviolable. Important rights or immunities possessed by powerful lords, would often clash with the sovereignty in the domain in which they were included; and as many of the territorial acquisitions were obtained either by purchase or mortgage, the contracts, especially in the latter cases, often contained exceptions and limitations which proved inconsistent with the supremacy of the new possessors. This change of circumstances must not be passed over unnoticed; since it points out a transition in the character of the confederacy, which may serve as a clue to lead us through the maze of the subsequent and more especially of the next succeeding events.

Count Frederick of Tocken-  
burg, whom the Duke of Austria had, after his inglorious expedition against Appenzel, invested with the supreme command in the Thurgau, and who had recently promoted the union which led to the establishment of a third league in Upper Rhætia, was, since the decline of the nobility, by far the

CHAP.

II.



CHAP.

II

the most wealthy and powerful lord in Helvetia; his domains (not indeed always contiguous) extending from Zurich far beyond the eastern banks of the Rhine, and up to the confines of the Tyrol. They were not all held by the same tenure. The original seat of his family, and the county from which he derived his name, were fiefs dependant on the empire. The upper March, Uznach in the Gaster, and the large possessions in the Grisons, had devolved to him as allodials from his female ancestors; and he had himself, profiting by the necessities of the Duke of Austria, obtained by mortgage the seigniorship of Windeck in the Gaster, the castles of Freudenberg and Nidberg, Wesen, Wallenstad, and the county of Sargans. During the sitting of the council of Constance, he moreover received from the empire, likewise as pledges, the whole district eastward of the Rhine from Bregenz to Pretigau, all which King Sigismund had wrested from Austria. The sequestration of the Austrian territories in consequence of the ban of the empire, extending now also to the districts the duke himself had previously transferred to Count Frederick, the right of redemption of those districts had likewise devolved to the empire; which, in the instance relating to the seigniorship of Windeck, had been made over to the city of Zurich. The count's temper was stern

stern and despotic ; but the policy he practised in conciliating the friendship of those among his more powerful neighbours who might have fomented discontents in his dominions, virtually obviated the ill effects of his severity. He conducted the war against the Appenzellers, which had been committed to him by the Duke of Austria, with so much lenity and caution, that his territories were ever spared when that people carried devastation among their other adversaries, and they ever abstained from interfering in any disagreement between him and his murmuring vassals : but none of his expedients towards obviating foreign interference proved more effectual, than his having demanded and obtained the freedom or co-burghership of Zurich and Schwitz for himself during his life, and in favour of his heirs for a further term of five years after his demise. Fifty years sooner, the Schwitzers would not have consented to an engagement which countenanced oppression.

The count, being well apprized that an avowed presumptive heir to his dominions might rise into a rival, and be resorted to as a refuge against his austere government, became solicitous to obtain the unconditional privilege of bequeathing all the territories he held in fee under the empire; in order that he might effectually conceal the future owner from the various

CHAP.  
II.

rious collaterals who were preparing their titles to the succession, and the many parasites who courted his friendship in hopes of being numbered among his legatees. His kindred consisted of Elizbeth of the house of Metsch, his consort ; Idda Countess of Thierstein, his sister ; a Countess of Montford, daughter of his uncle Donatus ; Ulric de Metsch, and Hildebrand and Peter de Raron, grandsons of his elder aunt Margaret ; and the Barons de Howen, descended from Clementina his younger aunt. In the then unsettled state of the laws of inheritance ; and among the multitude of wills, marriage contracts, deeds of purchase, and local rights, that related to the different parts of this property, it was scarce possible to define with any accuracy the titles that pertained to each of these several claimants ; and they all hoped to be ultimately more beholden to the favour of the count, than to any complicated claim they might exhibit. His mother, a Countess of Werdenberg, had moreover four nieces ; who had married into the noble families of Montford, Brandis, Sax, and Harberg. These also, and their descendants, were not wanting in paying the obsequious homage which they hoped might one day be productive of advantageous consequences. The court of Frederick was at this time an assemblage of all that was distinguished

guished in these and many distant parts, all emulous to ingratiate themselves where so much benefit might be derived.

CHAP.  
II

Among this crowd of visitors, was also John, (Burgomaster Stussi.) the son of Rudolph Stussi knight, burgomaster of Zurich. This youth, who, unlike his father, was not only deficient in the urbanity that is indispensably necessary at a court, but wholly destitute of the intrinsic qualities which command respect among those who know how to appreciate merit, soon became the jest of the young nobles; and, urged by a mean and puerile arrogance, reported to his father the slights he occasionally experienced. The burgomaster felt not only the personal disrespect his son complained of, but suffered his resentment to apply the insult to himself and to his city. Influenced by his authority, which the firmness of his character, the eminence of his talents, and even the dignity of his person, rendered almost absolute, the senate sent repeated messages to Count Frederick to request that, since they could not but be solicitous to learn whom they were to look upon as their future co-burgher, he would declare to them the person on whom he meant to settle the inheritance; and also that, as the empire had authorized them to redeem the seigniory of Windeck, he would forthwith cede it to them on receiving the due reimbursement.

CHAP.  
II

ment. The Count, firmly resolved not to accede to either of these demands, and yet unwilling to furnish a pretence for discord, urged that time must be had for deliberation; and proposed a meeting at which the deputies from Schwitz and Berne were requested to attend.

Schwitz was at this time, like Zurich, under the predominant influence of one of its principal inhabitants; who must needs have possessed superior qualities, since he was, during a long series of years, repeatedly confirmed in the highest office in this ever suspicious republic. Ital Reding of Bibereg was the landamman: whose lineal ancestor had, more than any other, contributed to the victory of Morgarten; whose father had, by honest thriftiness, greatly increased his private property; and whose brother and sons were suffered to hold under him various important departments in the state. Reding was too expert a politician not to avail himself of the unfavourable impression the late requisition of Zurich had made upon the mind of Count Frederick. Accordingly at a meeting held at Rapperswyl, the deputies of Schwitz actually appeared as advocates in favour of the count, and Zurich found it expedient to desist for the present from its demands. In the sequel however Zurich obtained a private intimation from the count, that having been thereto authorized

thorized by the emperor, he meant to nominate the countess his consort the sole heiress to his feudal dominions; and that with respect to the surrender of Windeck, she would conform herself to the conditions prescribed in the deed of mortgage. Whether from fickleness, the intrusion of insurmountable obstacles, or a desire to involve the Confederates in discord and animosities, he at a meeting of a few friends and relations at Sargans insinuated, in contradiction to his former declaration, but under the seal of secrecy, that Wolfard de Brandis, his cousin on his mother's side, should succeed to Tockenbourg and Uznach, and to the co-burghership of Zurich, after the expiration of which he should become a freeman of Schwitz. Such was the undetermined state of the important question concerning his succession: when he died intestate, on the last day of April; and was buried at the abbey of Ruti, with his shield and helmet.

1432.

His dowager, though unsupported by any written document, immediately laid claim to the whole inheritance; and in the firm persuasion that none could so effectually enforce her pretensions as the canton of Zurich, she not only accepted of its protection, but even prolonged the term of her co-burghership for the remainder of her life, and engaged to induce all her subjects

Disputes concerning it.

## CHAP.

## II.

subjects to enter into a similar association. Others of the relations produced various, either antiquated or recent titles : which, after the obsequies at Ruti, they met at Rapperswyl to discuss and adjudicate ; but where, each of them claiming something more than was his due, they deliberated without effect. The Duke of Austria, who, after having been released from the ban of the empire, and reinstated in the dominions which had been sequestrated, had by this time amply restored his finances, declared his intention of redeeming all that he had in his days of necessity mortgaged to the Count of Tockenbourg ;<sup>31</sup> and the emperor also declared his purpose of entering upon all the imperial fiefs, which he considered as lapsed by the intestate demise of the last occupier. Meanwhile most of the people of these wide domains, weary of the oppression they had experienced under their late despot, and impelled by the example of many of their neighbours, shewed a manifest disposition to alleviate their yoke by forming compacts among themselves, and with the free states that surrounded them on many sides.

The dowager countess, besides the promised surrender of Windeck, now likewise engaged

<sup>31</sup> This included Windeck, which Zurich was so eager to possess.

to

to make over to Zurich the town of Uznach, and some other places in the Gaster. The inhabitants of these towns, doubting the right she had to transfer them thus at pleasure, refused to take the oath which Stussi demanded of them with overbearing insolence.<sup>32</sup> The people of Sargans, whilst they expressed great joy in returning under the Austrian government, demanded various privileges ; which, though the duke did not peremptorily refuse, he was yet resolved not to grant : and the Tockenburghers likewise avowed their apprehensions, lest in the differences that subsisted respecting the succession, they should fall a prey to the unlimited authority of some arbitrary ruler. All these communities, being well aware, from the selfish and domineering temper of the rulers of Zurich, that no aid was to be expected from that quarter, turned their eyes towards Schwitz and Glaris for the support which they hoped would somewhat alleviate the servitude they had now so long endured.

The people of Sargans in particular shewed themselves so stubborn in their demands, that the duke, repenting the redemption of the

<sup>32</sup> 'Do you not know,' said he to the people of Uznach, when they avowed their reluctance, 'that you are ours, you, your town, your lands, your property, and your very vitals?' They answered,—'That we will see.'



CHAP.  
II

mortgage, transferred them to Count Henry of Werdenberg, in consideration of the sum he had disbursed in that resumption : but they, like those of Uznach, unwilling to admit the right of being bartered away like merchandize, refused to acknowledge their new lord ; and because they knew him to be the friend and a freeman of Schwitz, and that they could hence expect no countenance from that canton, applied to Zurich, and easily obtained the franchise of that city. This agreement was no doubt concluded without the knowledge of the new lord, and certainly without his consent ; since he had at that very time permitted them to enter into a similar covenant with Schwitz. The rulers of this canton and of Glaris<sup>33</sup> represented this clandestine proceeding on the part of Zurich as a breach of the confederacy : and in order to counteract its effects, sent their chief magistrate into the Gaster and Tockenbourg, to offer their franchises to the people of those districts ; stating that the late count had authorized them to enter into such an engagement, and that the succession not being yet determined, no new sovereign could impede the measure. The people, pre-disposed as they were to look to that

<sup>33</sup> The situation of Sargans and the Gaster, at the inlets of these cantons, rendered it necessary for them to be very vigilant in all that concerned the state of those districts.

quarter

quarter for support, gladly acceded to the proposal; and thus was Zurich cut off, not only from its new allies, but also from its communication with Italy through the Rhætian passes. Hence arose the animosities between Zurich and the cantons of Schwitz and Glaris, which proved so fatal to every part of the confederacy.

It would be tedious as well as uninteresting to relate the various steps the neutral cantons took to check the progress of this unhappy discord; the many deputations that were sent to each rival state, and the several meetings that were held with a view to conciliate the minds of the contending parties. The most general, solemn, and important congress, was opened at Lucern towards the end of February, and was attended by the chiefs of each canton most eminent both for official consequence and superiority of talents. These however, at their very first interview, betrayed so much asperity and rancour, that little hopes could be entertained of a successful issue. Stussi upbraided the Schwitzers with their conduct in the affair of Zug, which had been publicly condemned by all the cantons, and with their inglorious retreat from Bellinzona; adding tauntingly, that Lucern was much indebted to them for having reduced its expence of freight, only two of the seven vessels the city had sent to their assistance

1497.

CHAP.  
II.

having returned from the disastrous expedition. Reding, in his turn, reproached Zurich with its defection to Austria, whilst the blood which the Confederates had shed at Sempach and Næfels was still reeking. The men of Glaris were told by the arrogant burgomaster, that he considered them no longer as allies, since, contrary to the express condition under which they had been received into the confederacy, they had formed new leagues without the concurrence of the other cantons. Jobst Tschudi, the landamman of Glaris, replied, that in a subsequent compact they had, with respect to alliances, been put upon the same footing with the other cantons; and Conrad Reitler, the banneret of Glaris, having been repeatedly, both publicly and privately, insulted by Stussi, broke out in personal invectives, and reminded him that the cottage was still standing in the canton of Glaris in which his father had been born, whilst his grandfather was tending cattle in the mountains.<sup>34</sup> These altercations, more calculated to exasperate than conciliate, produced an order from the congress that the negotiations should henceforth be carried on only in writing.

After a profusion of memorials, answers, and

<sup>34</sup> The family of Stussi had in fact but lately come to Zurich from Glaris, where the father of the burgomaster had been a common peasant.

rejoinders,

rejoinders, had been presented and maturely considered, nineteen deputies of the neutral cantons, who, according to the established law of arbitration, had been chosen umpires, decreed, among other articles of less moment, that if the Schwitzers could within six weeks produce unquestionable evidence that the late Count of Tockenbourg had actually authorized his people to accept the freedom of Schwitz after his demise, the recent compact between those parties should be valid; and that since the dowager countess had, probably not without the concurrence of Zurich, accepted from the Duke of Austria the reimbursement of the mortgage of Windeck, he had an undoubted right to authorize this compact respecting that district and the Gaster, unless Zurich could prove that the right of redemption belonged to them and not to the duke. The deputies having issued their decree, mounted their horses on the ninth of March; but before they left Lucern they perceived the indignation of Stussi and his colleagues, who looked upon this award as a complete overthrow, even their co-burghership with Sargans being virtually invalidated by the adoption of the maxim, that the consent of the sovereign was necessary for such an union.

Their wrath did not abate when they were soon after apprized that the dowager countess,  
weary

CHAP.  
II.

weary of the incessant turmoils to which she saw no probable termination, and in which she was not effectually protected by her co-burghers of Zurich, had, with the reservation of a certain revenue, made over all her claims to the dominions of Tockenbourg, to the cousins of the late count; who immediately thereupon not only accepted the freedom of Schwitz and Glaris, but soon after even mortgaged to these cantons the, to them most important, seigniority of Uznach; and that the Duke of Austria moreover, unable to curb the spirit of his subjects in these parts, had made over to the same cantons, likewise by mortgage, the whole Gaster, together with the seigniories of Windeck and Wesen, and the advocacy of the abbey of Schennis; all which, having never been redeemed, have to our days continued in their dependence. Zurich now availed itself of a public calamity in order to gratify its resentment; and after a severe frost and a hail-storm, which had frustrated the hopes both of the vintage and harvest, shut its markets to the people above the lake, who depended chiefly upon them for bread and wine. Thus were the minds of all parties progressively inflamed, and impartial men saw and lamented the certain prospect of a relentless and destructive war.

Such was the alarming state of affairs in this  
country

country when the Emperor Sigismund died ; and was succeeded on the imperial throne by Albert of Austria, king of Hungary and Bohemia, cousin of the Duke Frederic of Austria who held his court at Inspruck, and whose name has often occurred in this narrative. This duke had appointed keepers to his castles of Freudenberg and Nidberg, in Sargans, who, no less infatuated than most of their predecessors, had by cruelties and oppression rendered themselves odious to the people. This people claimed the protection Zurich owed them as co-burghers, and Stussi without delay proceeded with the banner up the lake, and into the Gaster. He met with some opposition from the inhabitants of this district, who were unwilling to admit men who refused to give them bread ; but yet he penetrated, and, though with much difficulty, succeeded to take and demolish the two castles. He returned with a number of prisoners, some of whom were natives of the Gaster and the Marches, whom their countrymen saw with indignation led along in disgraceful bonds ; and who, had Zurich cherished a conciliating spirit, would have been immediately released. Malicious and inflammatory reports having moreover been spread, during this expedition, of the insidious designs of both parties, each thought it expedient to secure itself

by

CHAP.  
II.

1438.

CHAP. by arms. Zuric advanced a body of men to  
 II. Pffeffikon on the confines of Schwitz; and this  
 ~~~~~ canton raised its banner on Mount Etzel, be-  
 tween that post and Einsidlen; and together  
 with Glaris sent forces to secure Uznach and the  
 Gaster. The consequence of the expedition of  
 Zuric against the castles in Sargans was more-  
 over an open rupture with Austria; and the  
 tenor of its whole conduct at length wholly  
 alienated the minds of the Confederates from  
 1439. its cause.

The Burgomaster, who had now led the ban-  
 ner of Zuric to Pffeffikon, sent a messenger to  
 the Schwitzers on Mount Etzel, with an offer  
 of an appeal to the king of the Romans; and  
 declaring that, if the bearer did not instantly  
 bring back an unconditional acceptance of this  
 proposal, his burghers were resolved to right  
 themselves by force of arms. The Schwitzers,  
 with all due deference for the head of the em-  
 pire, of which they were all equally members,  
 answered that, as their confederacy had estab-  
 lished a law of arbitration, they saw no reason  
 for departing from it in the present instance;  
 that however, provided this law be adhered to,  
 they were willing to accede to any modification,  
 as to place or persons, that Zuric could reason-  
 ably demand; but that if this offer was rejected,  
 they would take proper steps effectually to pro-  
 vide

vide for their own safety. In the night after this fruitless negotiation<sup>35</sup> Stüssi sent Ulric de Lommis with one thousand men to the foot of Mount Etzel to observe the Schwitzers, whilst he himself with his main force proceeded towards the March; proposing no doubt to intercept the communication between the Schwitzers and their new allies, and perhaps to fall upon the rear of Reding, while Lommis should assail him in front. These movements, and the purport of them, did not escape the vigilance and penetration of the landamman: he cautioned the people of the March, moved his camp to the highest part of the mountain, and ordered his men to observe the strictest silence. Before daybreak, came to him deputies from Uri and Underwalden, conjuring him to postpone hostilities, in order to afford them time for another attempt towards an accommodation. They had not ceased speaking, when a hasty messenger came panting up the mountain; and holding up a letter from Lucern, in which the senate, deprecating the day when the first drop of blood should be shed by the hand of a Confederate, called upon their friends of Schwitz by all the sacred ties of piety, compassion, and patriotism, to confide in them, and the zealous endeavours they were exerting to restore tranquillity. Red-

<sup>35</sup> May 3.

ing



CHAP.

II.

ing was consenting to a short truce, when on a sudden the discharge of fire-arms was heard at a distance, and the noise of combatants seemed to be drawing near. Lommis, observing a perfect stillness on the mountain, and imagining that the Schwitzers had withdrawn to some other part, sent a detachment of fifty men, which was followed by fifty more, to explore the wood, and the acclivity above it. These advanced incautiously, and soon fell in with the out-posts ; which they, regardless of the orders they had received, rashly attacked, and thus occasioned the tumult which had been heard above. The assailants were easily repelled ; eleven of them, the first victims of this civil discord, were killed ; a flag, and many arms and accoutrements, were taken ; and the Schwitzers advanced to inflict vengeance for this unexpected insult. The deputies of Uri and Underwalden, however, prevailed upon Reding to recall his forces, and they accordingly resumed their station on the mountain. Stussi hearing of this encounter, and finding the boundaries of the March too well defended to admit of a surprise, returned to Pfeffikon.

The anxious solicitude that now spread throughout the land, gave rise to numberless deputations, remonstrances, entreaties, and even menaces. Twenty mediators from Uri  
and

and Underwalden; thirty from Berne, Lucern, Zug, and Solęure; many from Appenzel, and from the principal imperial towns between Constance and Strasburg; came to the hostile camps, and laboured incessantly to soften the rancour of the exasperated rivals. Despairing of a perfect reconciliation, they rejoiced when they could obtain a respite of a few days, or even hours; and they exulted when they at length brought about an armistice for the term of one year, Zurich consenting to suffer the exportation of some corn to the Schwitzers and their allies, and of a limited quantity of wine to the abbey of Einsidlen.

The troops withdrew; but their inveterate enmity still rankled in their breasts. Zurich laid a formal complaint before King Albert, as the last resort in all dissensions between members of the empire, and obtained a rescript which summoned the parties before his aulic tribunal; but before answers could be given to this mandate he died in Hungary.<sup>36</sup> The aged Duke Frederic had died not long before<sup>37</sup> at Inspruck; and his son Sigismund being a minor, his nephew Frederic, son to Duke Ernest, took possession of his dominions, and of the ample trea-

<sup>36</sup> October 27.

<sup>37</sup> June 24.

CHAP.  
II.

ures he had amassed during the latter part of his long and eventful life.

King Albert had, during his short reign, been induced to grant the whole inheritance of Tocken-  
enburg, without distinction of fiefs, allodials, or  
freeholds, to the several kinsmen of the late  
Count Frederic, leaving the distribution and al-  
lotment of them to their own determination.<sup>38</sup>  
These co-heirs, being well acquainted with the  
temper of the people they had now to govern,  
willingly confirmed them in all the privileges  
to which they appeared to have just claims, and  
even extended their compliance beyond the exact  
limits of pre-existing rights. The people were  
henceforth allowed to share in the election of  
their magistrates: they were not to be controlled  
in the free disposal of their lands and chattels; nor  
to be restrained when inclined to marry, or leave  
the country: no one who could give sufficient  
surety was to be detained in prison: <sup>39</sup> all sen-  
tences were to be conformable to the established  
laws, and never arbitrary. These laws like-

<sup>38</sup> Hildebrand and Peter de Raron, and George de Ra-  
zuns, received the county of Tocken-  
burg; the Counts of  
Tetnang and Sax had the best part of Pretigau; and Wol-  
fard de Brandis obtained Malans and Mayenfeld.

<sup>39</sup> This *Habeas Corpus Act* is above two hundred years  
older than that upon which Englishmen so justly pride  
themselves. It was peculiar to the people of Thurthal in  
Tocken-  
burg.

wise

wise limited the extent and mode of taxation ; and provided that the descent of property be in all cases free, and subject to no retribution to the sovereign. If we contemplate the willingness of the lords in granting what their predecessors would have refused with scorn, and the moderation of the people in asking when they saw such a readiness to comply ; and if at the same time we consider the insurmountable obstacles that prevented an amicable accommodation between Schwitz and Zurich ; we shall be led to conclude, that in fact all human affairs are either easy or difficult, according to the temper and inclination of the parties by whom they are transacted.

Whilst obstinate pertinacity, under the mask of firmness, was preparing a calamitous and reproachful war, at a time also when famine was still threatening the devoted country, a pestilence broke out at Basle, which spread its ravages all over the towns, valleys, and plains of Helvetia, and thinned the nation, already harassed by a variety of other apprehensions and real disasters. Hundreds died at Basle in a day, one quarter of the inhabitants of Zurich perished, four thousand were buried at Constance, and scarce an individual remained who did not lament the loss of a friend or near relation. Among these thousands of innocent victims, the

CHAP.  
II.

the guilty authors of the impending desolation were not cut off; they survived, saw the present miseries without commiseration, and meditated future disasters without compunction.

1440. Early in this year the deputies of the neutral cantons assembled once more at Schwitz, and used every argument they could devise to dispose the minds of this artless people to a perfect reconciliation; and after much persuasion, a proposal was brought forward, to which Zurich it was said had already assented, of abstaining from all hostilities until another legal decision could be obtained. The Schwitzers, who had never betrayed the least inclination to resist a constitutional award, were offended at these urgent admonitions of their confederates; and yet, waving every motive but that of accommodation, they freely accepted the proposal. The deputies conveyed the joyful tidings to their countrymen that war was happily obviated; and the shepherds of Schwitz resorted to their Alps without mistrust or apprehension.

On their return in autumn, finding a scarcity of provisions in their towns and hamlets, they repaired to the market of Rapperswyl for a fresh supply; but here, to their great surprise, they found that Zurich had indeed amply stocked that market, but had given strict orders not to admit any purchasers either from Schwitz or

Glaris :

Glaris: they learned also that several of their countrymen, and even the Abbeyes of Einsidlen and Schennis, had been debarred from the produce of the lands they held on the lake of Zurich; and, as if this had not been enough to exasperate their minds, a troop of disconsolate women came, who had been in the territories of Zurich to assist in the harvest, and who offering with their earnings to purchase provisions for their children, had been cruelly denied, the burgo-master having scornfully rejected their earnest but humble supplications. The shepherds now swore to be revenged. Ten of them met as many deputies from Glaris at Lachen in the March, to concert a plan for their future operations: they resolved, still willing to afford time to Zurich for repentance, to commence hostilities in the remote county of Sargans: they summoned their new allies, and among them Count Henry of Werdenberg, the lawful sovereign of that county, to meet at Wesen, where they would be joined by eight hundred of their own countrymen. In order to secure their own country, the chiefs caused their banners to be erected on the mountains Etzel and Eggen, in the Marches; and also called upon the whole confederacy to assist in repelling these unmerited insults. Zurich, on the other hand, likewise issued summons to the cantons, intimating how greatly it would grieve

CHAP. **grieve them to be compelled to call in foreign**  
II. **aid.**

Ital Reding and Jobst Tschudi arrived at Wesen with their eight hundred men, on the twenty-fourth of October in the evening, and declared to the people of Sargans that their purpose was to compel them to the obedience they had long owed to the count their lord. Next morning they proceeded up the lake, and met Peter Weibel, the chief of the faction of Zurich; who with three hundred men had occupied a strong post above Wallenstad, where with ordinary skill and bravery he might have resisted thousands. On the approach of an enemy however his courage failed him: he fled dismayed; and his men, following his example, took refuge in the town, where they spread a panic which soon brought on a surrender. The whole country upon this sent offers of submission; and in three days, without the least bloodshed, the count was reinstated in all his rights, prerogatives, and property, in this territory. Even Peter Weibel returned, craved for mercy, and obtained it on condition of his indemnifying some individuals whom he had injured during his shortlived usurpation. Reding and Tschudi upon this returned; and on the first of November joined the banners which had been raised at Lachen, and were surrounded by near three thousand

thousand spirited, vigorous, and well-appointed youths, equal to any enterprize. CHAP.  
II.

On the succeeding day the following declaration was sent to Zurich: ‘ Know ye, burgomaster, senate, council, and burghers of Zurich, that we, the landammén, councils, and communities of Schwitz and Glaris, on account of the violence, injustice, and grievous insults, which you and yours have inflicted upon us and ours, contrary to our laws and compacts, and the dictates of honour, have resolved to be your enemies, and to avenge our wrongs.’ The chiefs of Sanen, Gersau, and Wiggis, added their declarations of hostilities; and the messenger to whom they were intrusted conveyed them in a bag, instead of tying them to his staff.<sup>40</sup> On his way he learnt that the burgomaster had proceeded with the city-banner, and forty vessels full of men, up the lake, and had already landed at Pfeffikon; he also saw small parties from all the villages, which appeared in full march to join him. He repaired to the camp, and delivered the instruments; but was received in an outrageous manner, and even with blows, for having omitted to bring them on his staff. Late in the succeeding

<sup>40</sup> The messenger of Zurich in the preceding year had set the example of deviating from the usual form of conveying these declarations tied to a staff.



CHAP.

II.

night arrived one thousand men, with the banners of Uri and Underwalden, at the foot of Mount Etzel, doubtful as yet which side they should espouse. They again admonished the Schwitzers to proceed with moderation, and intimated that a rash measure might induce them to accede to the adverse party. Reding answered, ‘ We are weary of repeated and unsuccessful appeals to the law of arbitration. Our long negotiations, and patient forbearance, have not supplied us and our children with bread. Our cause is just; we will entertain no doubt of the assistance of our confederates, and are resolved to proceed.’ The men of Uri and Underwalden deliberated upon this answer; and numbers of them, among whom were many dependants on the great monastery at Zurich, inclined in favour of that city. The result was still dubious, when Werner de Frauen, the banneret of Uri, a calm silent man, stepped forward, and ‘ Heaven forbid,’ he said, ‘ that the banneret of Uri should raise his standard against men who have ever been ready to conform to the laws of our confederacy, and in favour of men who have always refused to comply with it unconditionally!’—The assembly hereupon exclaimed unanimously, ‘ The banneret is right:’ they joined the camp, and sent their declaration of hostilities to Pffeikon.

kon. Stussi was greatly disconcerted at this notification ; not only because he never expected that these cantons would take an active part in the war, but because he dreaded the impression this declaration would make upon the rest of the Confederates.

These allied forces advanced now in two close columns, passed the frontiers, and pillaged and burnt several houses. Their scouts on the next morning reported in the camp, that all the Zurichers had disappeared. Suspecting a stratagem, the chiefs sent parties to explore the country ; and actually learnt that fifty-two vessels had been seen moving across the lake. They then proceeded, but with the utmost caution, and took possession of Pffeffikon. Here they were told that in the middle of the preceding night a violent commotion had arisen in the camp of the Zurichers ; and that, without order or subordination, the men had all stepped into their boats, and put off towards the opposite shore. The inhabitants of the town came to the chiefs of the allies, implored for mercy, and craved that their houses might be spared. The castle opened its gates. This seigniory, though it had on this occasion sided with Zurich, was originally a dependance of the abbey of Einsidlen. During the panic of the preceding night the people had sent for the abbot, who happened at this time

CHAP.  
II.

to be at Rapperswyl, and intreated that he would intercede in their behalf. The reverend prelate rode up to the camp, followed by the suppliants; and obtained that on their renewing their allegiance to the abbey, and to the canton of Schwitz its advocate, not only their houses and goods should be spared, but no contributions, not even of provisions, should be levied upon them. Two hundred of the allies hereupon took possession of Hurden, on the peninsula which, opposite to Rapperswyl, divides the upper from the lower lake; and the main body proceeded to Richterswyl and Wadiswyl, as far as Kilchberg, within three miles of the city. The Zurichers in their retreat had landed at Urikon; but after a short stay and a tumultuous debate, had returned to their boats; and instead of coming across the lake and meeting the invaders, had steered their course to Zurich. The Confederates saw them from the shores with amazement, and declared, that surely 'God had struck them with cowardice.' The day after their arrival at Zurich, the council received likewise the declarations of hostilities of Lucern and Berne. The former had already sent twelve hundred men to the army of the allies, and the latter advanced two thousand men to Aldiswil on the Sil; while the nobles of Argau, having collected a body of horse, entered the town of Mellingen

Mellingen on the Reuss, and menaced the city. CHAP.  
II  
The Zugers now also sent in their declaration ; and with a reinforcement from the main army, advanced into the free bailiwicks of Mashwandén, between Mount Albis and the Reuss.

The whole country now felt the horrors of a war in which the soldiers, having expended the small stock of provisions they had brought with them from home, were to subsist upon the store of the wretched inhabitants. The once populous and fertile shores of the lake were now deserted ; the people in the villages, on the least uproar, instantly crying out, ‘ Fly, they are coming.’ The fugitives who flocked into the city, palliated their desertion by exaggerated accounts of the gigantic stature, fierceness, and barbarity, of the savages who poured down from the mountains ; and of the atrocity of Reding, their leader and demi-god.

Whilst the burghers saw the smoke of the villages on the western side of the lake, they heard an alarm from the eastward, and learnt that a foe was approaching from Thurgau. Berenger de Landenberg had joined the Rarons of Tockenbourg ; and after taking the town of Elgg on the confines, and Andelfingen on the Thur, had advanced as far as Kloten, not many miles from Zurich. The council also received notice that Count Henry of Werdenberg, with  
the

CHAP. the men of Sargans, Uznach, and the Gaster,  
 II.

was marching down the right banks of the lake; that he had proceeded as far as Gruningen, and laid waste a large district of that luxuriant country. The terrified inhabitants had sent to the city for protection; but received for answer from the town-clerk, ‘ that it was evident their ‘ courage and fidelity had wholly deserted them; ‘ and that whatever the enemy might leave ‘ them, Zurich would be sure to pillage.’ This was not a mere threat; for wherever the invaders evacuated a place, the burghers never failed to seize on all the cattle that had been left behind, and drive it into the city.

Zurich was in this state of humiliation bordering on despair, when a small number of imperial cities<sup>41</sup> revived its drooping hopes by a tender of mediation. They sent Hugh de Montford grand-master of the order of St. John, and the Baron John de Hewen brother to the Bishop of Constance, to the camp of the allies; where they represented in strong terms the compunction of the burghers, and proposed a meeting for mutual communication. The allies, perceiving that through the waste that always attends plunder, provisions began now to fail;

<sup>41</sup> Basle, Constance, Ulm, Ravensberg, Uberlingen, Lindau, and St. Gallen.

that

that no further progress could be made for want of implements for a siege ; and that in fact the object of the war might be considered as fully obtained, shewed no reluctance. The Zurichers at the first interview declared their readiness to accede to the law of arbitration, and to submit to the award of any of the Confederates ; or should it be deemed improper that those who had been parties in the war should be appealed to as arbitrators, proposed James the Seneschal of Waldburg, Prefect of Suabia, as sole umpire. The leaders of Schwitz and Glaris demanded at first to retain all the territories they had taken in the expedition, as an indemnification for the losses they had sustained ; but the Confederates insisted, that since Zurich had completely yielded, the terms of the accommodation should be left to the arbitrators. The two cantons offered to accept the Seneschal as umpire ; but the Confederates again objected, alleging the danger of suffering strangers to interfere in the domestic concerns of their country.

The difference was hence referred to fifteen Confederates, from Berne, Lucern, Uri, Underwalden, and Zug ; who met in a field near Zurich, and agreed on the following terms :  
 ‘ That Schwitz and Glaris should retain what-  
 ‘ ever Zurich had once possessed in the county  
 ‘ of Sargans ; that the seigniories and jurisdic-  
 ‘ tions

CHAP.  
II.

A pacifica-  
tion.

## CHAP.

## II.

‘ tions of Pfeffikon, Hurden, Uffnau, and all  
 ‘ from the lake to the confines of Schwitz, be  
 ‘ ceded to this canton: that all other conquests  
 ‘ made by the allies be returned to Zurich; Gru-  
 ‘ ningen and the free bailiwick of Mashwanden  
 ‘ only excepted, which should be ceded to  
 ‘ Berne: <sup>42</sup> that all claims for costs or damages  
 ‘ be adjusted at a meeting to be held for the  
 ‘ purpose at Einsidlen, and that meanwhile all  
 ‘ that could be found of plunder taken from  
 ‘ individuals be restored: and lastly, that free  
 ‘ access be granted to Schwitz, Glaris, and their  
 ‘ new allies, to the markets of Zurich.’ Thus  
 ended the first intestine war among the Confe-  
 derates; happily, indeed, had it been the last.  
 But notwithstanding the moderation and equity  
 of the award, it yet unfortunately contained  
 the seeds of a fresh war, far more calamitous  
 and destructive than the late one, and which  
 ended nearly with the current year. <sup>43</sup>

Zuric had no sooner recovered from its con-  
 sternation, than it felt the disgrace and detri-  
 ment it had sustained; nor could it reconcile  
 itself to the loss not only of a part of its terri-  
 tories, but also of all the hopes it had fondly en-

<sup>42</sup> Berne immediately restored them to Zurich; this being  
 an expedient to obviate the effect of an oath which Schwitz  
 had taken never to surrender those districts to Zurich.

<sup>43</sup> The award was dated December 3d, 1440.

tertained

CHAP. II.  
 tertained of an ample share in the succession of Tockenburg. In monarchies the glory of a nation centres in the sovereign, and victories as well as losses are ascribed to him and his administration; whereas in commonwealths, where every man assumes a share in the conduct of public affairs, each trophy, and every defeat, make a deep personal impression, and a stain bequeathed from generation to generation must be revenged before it can be obliterated. In a body moreover of confederate republics, nothing can be more pernicious than the conquests of one member upon another;<sup>44</sup> the jealousies, rancour, and mistrust they occasion being perpetual sources of dissensions which must in the end prove detrimental to the union. The burghers of Zurich, impressed with sensations like these, were ready, it may be imagined, to embrace every opportunity which afforded a prospect of retaliation; but the first expedient they had recourse to no one could have predicted, and none surely would ever have imputed it to a member of the Helvetic Confederacy.

Frederick,<sup>45</sup> a grandson of the Archduke Leo-

<sup>44</sup> ' Il est contre la nature de la chose, qu' dans une constitution fédérative, un état confédéré conquière sur l'autre.' *Esprit des Loix*, x. 6.

<sup>45</sup> He is generally stiled the IV. though some make him the III. and others the V. emperor of that name: he was



CHAP.  
II.

pold who had perished at Sempach, was now seated on the imperial throne; and had no sooner arrived at that exalted station, than he manifested a wish to recover the territories in Helvetia of which his family had been lately bereaved. His first step, suggested no doubt by his desire to involve the Confederates in inextricable difficulties, was to send them an injunction not to make any restitution to Zurich without being previously apprized of his pleasure. The allies however did not avail themselves of this prohibition; for though the barons of Raron, alleging the damages and costs they had sustained, refused to surrender the districts they had subdued; and the people of Gruningen, recollecting the answer they had received from the town-clerk of Zurich, solicited to be annexed to the canton of Schwitz; yet the terms of the treaty were scrupulously fulfilled.

The recovery of the Argau was the main object which engrossed the attention of Frederick; and preparatory to it he sent several emissaries, the chief of whom was William Margrave of Baden Hochberg prefect of the

was born December 23, 1415, and elected February 2, 1440. He reigned 54 years. His qualities were rather amiable than splendid: indolence was the prevailing feature of his character: he was pious but not always honest.

Austrian

Austrian provinces in Suabia, to sound the dispositions of the people. The nobles who still resided in the Argau, and who remembered and regretted the preponderancy they had once enjoyed under the princes of Hapsburg, gave ample hopes of success : and moreover disseminated a spirit, even among the lower classes, which justified the expectation that they would willingly return to their former allegiance. This intention of Frederick, his preparatory steps, and the temper of the Argauers, did not escape the penetration of the burgomaster Stussi ; and of Michael Graff, the town-clerk of Zurich, his faithful co-operator in his ambitious projects. They caused it to be suggested to the margrave, ‘ that the pretended antipathy of Zurich against Austria was far from real : ‘ that Zurich remembered with exultation the ‘ happy intercourse that once subsisted between ‘ them and the great founder of the power of ‘ Hapsburg : that although some misunderstanding had arisen between them and his son ‘ Albert, they had not however screened his assassins from condign punishment : that they had ‘ fought with Leopold, and bled abundantly at ‘ Morgarten ; and that their hands were guiltless of the blood of the second Leopold, Frederick’s grandfather, who had been slain at ‘ Sempach : that whatever damage they might ‘ have

CHAP.

II.

‘ have occasioned in the late contest excited by  
 ‘ the Emperor Sigismund, it was not irrepar-  
 ‘ able; since a great part of the territories  
 ‘ wrested from Austria on that occasion were  
 ‘ now in their hands, the hands of faithful and  
 ‘ obsequious depositaries: that the attacks of  
 ‘ the castles of Freudenberg and Nidberg had  
 ‘ been the effect of troubles instigated by the  
 ‘ Schwitzers; but that an object so trivial  
 ‘ could not surely outweigh the advantages that  
 ‘ might accrue to Austria from a return to a  
 ‘ good understanding with its old friends of  
 ‘ Zurich.’

The margrave perceived the tendency of this intimation; and advised the Zurichers whenever, like the other cantons, they should send deputies to the king for the confirmation of their liberties, freely to declare their sentiments on this subject; and promised that he would prepare his council for the overture. Henry Schwend knight, one of the burgomasters, and Michael Graff the town-clerk, were appointed to this embassy. They found the king at Salzburg, but under pretence of a multiplicity of affairs, were ordered to follow him first to Inspruck, where they disclosed the purport of their mission, and as a proof of the sincerity of their intentions, offered the surrender of Kyburg, the best half of their territories; and  
 thence

CHAP.  
II.Zuric joins  
Austria.

thence to Aix la Chapelle, to which place he soon after repaired for his coronation. Here, and on the very day of the solemnity, two instruments were signed; the first containing the cession of Kyburg to Austria, and some regulations concerning the inheritance of Tockenbourg, the greatest part of which was to be recovered by the contracting parties; and the second an alliance between the king and Zuric, to which the Margrave of Baden, the Seneschal of Waldburg, the Bishop and city of Constance, the Rhætian leagues, and several other princes, prelates, and cities, were invited to accede. Zuric in this treaty made indeed a formal reservation of its engagement to the Confederacy, but it will appear in the sequel how little they regarded this plausible exception. All this was transacted with the greatest secrecy; insomuch that the deputies of the other cantons, who were apprized of the frequent conferences, found it impossible to discover the purport of them. Schwend and Graff reported their success at Zuric, and Stussi recovered all his influence in the council. The deputies of the other cantons, eclipsed no doubt in their simple garb and manners by the magnificence of the many princes, magistrates, and ambassadors, who resorted to the court<sup>46</sup> for investiture, solicited long in vain

<sup>46</sup> At this time removed to Frankfort.

before

CHAP.  
II.

before they were admitted to an audience; and when at length they were suffered to urge their demand, they were answered that as soon as the cantons should have acknowledged the right of Austria to the sovereignty of the Argau, the king would take their request for the confirmation of their privileges into consideration. The deputies, not being authorized to treat on this subject, were dismissed; with a declaration that this matter should be postponed until the king's intended visit to his western dominions, and perhaps, as he intimated, to Zurich.

The coincidence of the kind reception of the deputies of Zurich at court, and of the declared purpose of the king to recover the Argau, led to the suspicion of a more than ordinary connection between Austria and that canton. The other Confederates held many conferences, and at one of them resolved to put Zurich to the test of a renewal of the confederacy. This was by no means declined by the city, and the confirmation was solemnly ratified in the month of May.<sup>47</sup> The Confederates had recourse to another expedient. Being desirous in the present crisis to ascertain the disposition of the people in the Argau, they resolved upon a pro-

<sup>47</sup> Zurich in this could not be expressly taxed with breach of faith, for the alliance with Austria was not finally ratified till the 17th of June.

gress

gress through the several towns and districts of that province, and called upon Zurich to add their deputies to the commission. With this the burghers likewise readily complied; and thus no charge could be brought against them, from which they could not ostensibly clear themselves. They did not deny the alliance, which in fact they were allowed to make by the terms of the confederacy; but they positively asserted that it contained nothing derogatory to the federal union.

The king now crossed the Rhine, and notified his intention of visiting Zurich. The burghers manifested their joy by all manner of demonstrations. Frederick arrived on the nineteenth of September: he was attended by a multitude of counts, lords, knights, and prelates, and upwards of one thousand horses; and was followed by no less than six-and-thirty baggage-waggons. Some Schwitzers, then accidentally at Zurich, viewed the procession from the bye alleys; ‘God’s mercy,’ they cried, ‘when will there be an end of these lordlings?’ but what shocked them most was to see the burghers adorned with peacock’s feathers.<sup>48</sup> The king made an excursion on the lake to Rapperswyl, where he received the homage of the people. He loved the beauties of nature, and here admired the

<sup>48</sup> See vol. i. p. 449.

splendid

CHAP.

II.

~~~~~ visited Winterthur, which now also became Austrian; and Kyburg, the newly recovered inheritance of his female ancestor the Countess Helwig. He then resolved on a progress through Helvetia. The valetudinarians assembled at Baden, saw him with surprize in what had usually been called the duke's bath. He beheld the ruins of the citadel with concern. He hastened to Koenigsfelden, prayed at the altar raised on the spot where King Albert his ancestor had been assassinated, and visited the tombs of the beatified Queen Agnes and of her incomparable mother. He slept at Bruck, and the next morning he rode over the plain that first nurtured his infant race; he saw on its eminence the castle of Hapsburg, and seemed deeply affected.

The Confederates, notwithstanding the refusal their deputies had met with at Frankfort, and the grounds of suspicion that perplexed them, resolved to pay him all possible honour : but this with a determined purpose never to cede the Argau, nor any part of their territories; to hold firmly together; and not to listen to any separate propositions made singly to any of them. The king accordingly was received with magnificence and prodigal festivity at Soleure and at Berne. The Friburghers exulted on seeing once more their sovereign among them.

them. He received their oaths of allegiance, and then proceeded to Lausanne. He viewed and admired the beauties which delight every susceptible mind, on the banks of the Lake Lemman: and arrived at Geneva, where he was received in great state by the magistrates and clergy; and with the most engaging obsequiousness by the young, beautiful, and accomplished widow, Margaret of Savoy;<sup>49</sup> who, could she have effected the union with this monarch which her father<sup>50</sup> meditated, might have been the means of fixing the triple crown on his hoary brows. The king beheld her with kindness, but without emotion. He then crossed the Jura, and visited at Besançon Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy; and Isabella of Portugal his consort, whose niece Eleonora he afterwards married. At Basle, although of the adverse party, he kissed the hand of the aged pontiff, and received his paternal embrace. The deputies of six of the cantons<sup>51</sup> met him at Constance, and renewed their solicitations for the

CHAP.  
II.

<sup>49</sup> She had been less than one year married to Lewis of Anjou, titular King of Naples. She possessed a fortune of 200,000 crowns.

<sup>50</sup> The Antipope Felix V. then at Basle.

<sup>51</sup> Berne, Lucern, Schwitz, Underwalden, Zug, and Glaris. Uri, which had no share in the sovereignty of Argau, had received its confirmation at Zurich.



CHAP. II. confirmation of their liberties. He repeated the condition that all things should be replaced in the same state they were in before the ratification of the fifty years truce. Argau at that time belonged to Austria. The deputies, having no instructions for this purpose, withdrew. The king proceeded through Arbon to St. Gallen, where he was splendidly entertained during three days. The people swore allegiance to him as burghers of a free imperial city; but they declined to accede to the league with Zurich, to which they had been invited in the treaty, but the consequences of which they foresaw and dreaded. Appenzel likewise rejected this alliance. The king now returned to Austria, leaving the Margrave of Baden his prefect in Helvetia. Thus ended this portentous year, in which the ambition and revengeful spirit of a few individuals of Zurich brought the confederacy to the brink of ruin.

1443. Early in the ensuing year, frequent meetings were held by the Confederates to deliberate on the imminent danger that threatened their union. They repeatedly applied to Zurich to deliver up to them the deed by which the Emperor Sigismund had formally ceded to them the sovereignty of the Argau, and which had been deposited in the public archives in that city. This, under several specious pretences, was

was as often refused. They learnt that the seneschal had repaired to Appenzel, to persuade that people to side with Austria; and sent a deputation to counteract him. Waldburg had in fact urged every cogent motive; but received the answer, more frequent among primitive than polished people, 'An oath is an oath:' they had sworn to the confederacy, they said, and although theirs was not an equal league, yet they were resolved to adhere to their engagement. To the deputies of Schwitz (Ital Reding was of the number) they lamented the dangerous feud that had broken out between Zurich and the other cantons; but added, that their capacities not being equal to distinguish which party had justice on its side, they were determined to remain neutral.

Meanwhile bodies of armed men in the pay of Austria were sent to occupy Rapperswyl; and the inhabitants on the western side of the lake of Zurich drew a strong intrenchment from Horgen over Mount Hirzel, down to the frontiers of Zug. Thuring de Hallwyl took the command of the burghers of Zurich: by his order they all exchanged the white for the red cross; the former being the badge of the Confederates, and the latter of Austria. When the Swiss first saw the Austrian badge on the breasts of the Confederates, they fired with indignation and  
 M 2                      resentment.

Renewal of  
the War.

CHAP.  
II.

resentment. The nobles, perceiving a disunion in the confederacy which, while firmly combined, they had found invulnerable, exulted in the triumph they anticipated. Invectives and insults were lavished on both sides :<sup>52</sup> the clergy doomed the Confederates to eternal perdition : the most bitter rancour possessed every mind : acts of violence, especially on the side of Rapperswyl, where the wantonness and rapacity of the Austrian soldiers could not be restrained, became frequent and vexatious ; but both the burghers and Austrians saw with disappointed rage, that they could not provoke acts of retaliation.

After repeated but fruitless negotiations, appeals, remonstrances, and mediations, Ital Reding, being apprized of various movements on the part of Zurich, at length displayed the banner, and raised it on mount Etzel. Jobst Tschudi and the men of Glaris joined him on the first summons. The impetuous ardour of the people admitting of no restraint, Reding hastened to send his declarations of hostilities both to Zurich and Austria ; and early on Monday the twenty-first of May, several Schwitzers descended to the bridge of Rapperswyl, and broke down a part of it to prevent a surprise from that quar-

<sup>52</sup> The shepherds were taxed with being over-fond of their cows.

ter.

ter. A detachment however soon after crossed over in boats, and burnt the village of Hurden. Deputies from Uri and Underwalden came now to the camp, and reported that their banners were in motion, but that their chiefs still earnestly recommended further steps towards an accommodation. Reding answered, that the die was cast; that hostilities had been declared. 'How!' said the deputies; 'have you, without the concurrence of the Confederates, declared war to Zurich, and the formidable power of Austria?' They went away appalled, but soon returned with notice that their banners were advancing to join the camp. It was now agreed, at the request of Zug, which had been severely galled by the troops in the lines of Hirzel, that Uri and Underwalden should proceed to the succour of that city, while Glaris should march to the head of the lake, and cover the frontiers at Uznach. On the succeeding Wednesday the first engagement took place. Upwards of seven hundred nobles, burghers, and soldiers, came across the lake in thirteen vessels, and landed at Frey-  
 bach, rather with a view to explore the country Action of Frey-  
bach. than to commence hostilities. Reding, with his wonted caution, suspected this to be a feint, in order to allure him from his strong position, whilst a numerous body might turn his flanks and fall upon his rear: he sent one hundred  
 men

CHAP.

IL

men to observe the motions of this detachment, with strict orders, if they found it too powerful for their numbers, to send immediately to the camp for a reinforcement. These men soon found the enemy to be far superior to themselves in number ; but not one of the hundred could be prevailed upon to put on the appearance of flight, and retire to the camp. They twice drove the enemy, and were twice driven themselves, out of the village of Freyenbach ; and after their second repulse, stood a severe conflict in a church-yard, till some of the out-posts near Pfeffikon came in to their assistance. With this reinforcement they once more overpowered their adversaries, and at length drove them to their boats. The loss was considerable on both sides, and nearly proportionate to their numbers. Reding severely rebuked his countrymen for their disobedience of orders, but their success meanwhile was complete and splendid.

A conflict much more severe and bloody took place on the following Friday, near the intrenchment on the Hirzel, with the Austrians, burghers and peasants, who, under the command of Hallwyl, occupied those lines. The Zugers had posted themselves at a bridge on the Sil, which formed their boundary on that side. Peterman de Lutishoffen Avoyer of Lucern, Puntiner de Brunberg

Brunberg Landamman of Uri, John Muller and Merhi Zelger Landammen of Underwalden above and below the forest, having joined their banners, advanced and took their station at the village of Baar near Zug, between that town and the bridge defended by its burghers. The margrave and Stussi meanwhile, with upwards of five thousand men most of them Austrians, advanced from Zurich along the heights of Albis, and descended through Cappel towards the right of the intrenchment, with a view probably to penetrate through Zug into the heart of the canton of Schwitz. Here the skill of the burgo-master as a commander (in which, as well as his knowledge of the country, his army implicitly confided) proved defective. He advanced as far as Blikenstorf, the first village in the territory of Zug, without having obtained the intelligence that three banners of the Confederates were actually in the adjacent villages of Baar. Although no declaration of hostilities had as yet passed between Zurich and Zug, Stussi suffered nevertheless the houses of Blikenstorf to be set on fire: they were all instantly consumed; and the flames, which at night were seen at a great distance, were in fact the declaration of war, and exasperated the minds of the Confederates to a degree of frantic rage. Early the next morning he continued his march towards Zug;

CHAP. Zug; but he had not advanced far, when on a sudden some armed men, and the three banners at Baar, appeared in sight. Terrified at this unexpected apparition, the margrave and Stussi retreated: they were pursued to Cappel, but not overtaken; and before night they reached mount Albis.

The lines  
of Hirzel  
forced.

The Confederates now resolved to storm the lines. They advanced four thousand in number, ascended the steep, and surmounted difficulties which none but men accustomed like them to precipices could have attempted: they had reached near the rampart when night approached, and the leaders urged the necessity of suspending the intended assault. Some of the enemy at this moment called down from the lines, 'Come on, scoundrels; come on:;' and others uttered still more opprobrious language. The enraged assailants, deaf to the commands and admonitions of their leaders, rushed up the steepest part of the mountain; while their chiefs, seeing the irresistible fury of their people, hastened after them with the banners. On Friday, May the twenty-fourth, at the hour of vespers, began the horrid carnage. The besieged used their great guns, harquebusses, and various missile engines, with great skill and effect, against the infuriated invaders; who, regardless of death and every obstacle, attacked the

the rampart at a place where it was deemed impregnable. Here fell the venerable Avoyer of Lucern, who both in the council and at conferences had ever and strenuously laboured to avert this evil: here perished also the two Landammén of Underwalden, and many valiant leaders. The bodies of the dead now filled the ditch. A hideous cry of 'slay, slay,' filled the air. On a sudden sprung up from the left the men of Entlibuch: thirty of them fell on the first onset, the remainder rushed over their lifeless bodies into the line; the rest followed with irresistible impetuosity. Destruction now reached the hostile bands. Above three hundred men of Zurich, and among them their principal leaders, fell on the spot: the survivors gave way, and many perished in the flight. Those who escaped spread terror and dismay throughout the country; and conveyed to Zurich the fearful intelligence that the lines, on which the city depended for its security, had been forced. Stussi and his army withdrew into the city. The victors spent the night among the slain. No sounds of triumph cheered their exhausted spirits. Silent and sullen they gazed on the havock. The men of Zug arrived at daybreak: they saw the banner of Entlibuch pierced by an hundred shot: they saw the slaughtered leaders with defiance still marked in their countenances;



CHAP. nances : they looked all round them, and wept  
II. aloud.

The banners of Schwitz and Uri now joined the dejected conquerors, and the army advanced towards Mount Albis, and along the lake, without meeting with any resistance. Unprovided with the means of carrying on a siege, they left Zurich unmolested: but spread all over its territories, committing all manner of depredations; nor did they abstain from violation, slaughter, sacrilege, and all the outrages their vindictive fury could suggest. These people, especially the shepherds of the Alps, were the mere children of nature. When unruffled by passions, their features bespoke benignity, probity, and forbearance; but in the rage of war they, like David, and the heroes of Greece and Rome, displayed a ferocious ardour incapable of control. Many when taken prisoners chose to die the death of Cato: fear was unknown to them, but insult they could not endure. At length the army gathered and encamped at Lunkofsen near the Reuss, expecting a reinforcement from Berne.

The Berners, who had always been adverse to the war, had hitherto declined interfering in it. They were now however encamped, when deputies from Schwitz came to them, and emphatically represented the imminent danger to which

which they and the confederacy were at this moment exposed.<sup>53</sup> ‘Dear trusty Confederates,’ they said, ‘remember the day of Laupen; when your ancestors being threatened with utter ruin by the nobles, sent Kramburg to us to demand our aid. We were not at that time allied to you, and yet what did we say? “Need,” we said, “is the test of friendship.” You have heard of the tears of joy that were shed when our banners were seen approaching to your walls: you know what Erlach said after the victory: “This day shall be an everlasting pledge of our union.” From that day have we been allies. Men of Berne! sons of the conquerors of Laupen! we are now involved in great difficulties: the power of Austria, to which Zurich has basely surrendered, bears heavy upon us; numbers of ours have perished within these few days, and our enemies expect great reinforcements from distant parts. We may be overpowered. Dear trusty Confederates! “Need is the test of friendship”.’ The name of Laupen was decisive. The magistrates, towns, and people, of Berne and Soleure, sent their declarations to Zurich.

<sup>53</sup> They knew that the margrave had promised, and was actually negotiating, to bring numerous forces out of Germany against the Confederates.

The

CHAP.

II.

which now consisted of upwards of six thousand men, was to reduce Bremgarten, which had sided with Zurich. This place was capitulating when deputies came also from Baden with the keys of their city. The seventh share which Zurich possessed in the sovereignty of these towns, was now transferred to Berne. The Confederates, in hopes of alluring the burghers of Zurich out of their walls, marched by its gates, ravaged the country on each side of the lake as far as Rapperswyl, and disturbed the ashes of the illustrious dead who lay entombed in the abbey of Ruti. The excesses committed by the young warriors had by this time occasioned a scarcity of provisions, which obliged them to quit the field. They all retired to their homes, after a most bloody and destructive expedition which had lasted nearly one month. The next month they rested.

Action at  
the Chapel  
of St. Jacob.

During this suspension, Thuring de Hallwyl marched out of Zurich and made an attempt upon Bremgarten; and John de Rechberg, one of the most inveterate enemies of the Confederates, ventured to attack the town of Wyl, a dependancy of the heirs of Tockenbourg. Both enterprises proved unsuccessful; but they failed not to draw on fresh miseries upon the wretched people, who had not yet cleared away the rubbish

bish from their desolated habitations. Six banners of the Confederates appeared again on the borders of the lake.<sup>54</sup> On Monday the twenty-second of July they met at Hedingen, and before daybreak marched up mount Albis. The clefts and narrow passes were guarded by parties from Zurich. Three large dogs were the first assailants, and occasioned an alarm among the burghers; which, especially when they saw the enemies on the heights around them till then deemed inaccessible, induced them to abandon their posts. The Confederates, being now masters of the mountain and the road to Zurich, advanced with speed towards the city. The council, where on this day Stussi sat for the last time, assembled and gave orders for the defence of the city. The horse were sent out to harass and detain the approaching enemy; and all the burghers, without distinction of age or rank, armed, and were ordered to draw out between the walls and the river Sil, within a short distance of the gates. They however, deeming it inglorious not to face an enemy in an open country, crossed the river, and formed in a meadow surrounded by a quick hedge, near a chapel dedicated to St. Jacob. Here they saw the banners moving rapidly down the steep. The men of Schwitz and Glaris repelled the

<sup>54</sup> Berne took no part in this expedition.

horse;

CHAP.

II.

horse; and advancing along the foot of the mountain, entered the village of Wiedikon. Reding their leader had recourse to a stratagem, which men of more probity than wisdom have reprobated; as if every expedient which, by bringing a conflict to a speedy issue, may prevent the effusion of blood, were not commendable. He caused a red coat to be cut into small pieces in the form of crosses, and ordered two hundred of his most select warriors to fasten them on their breasts as the badges of Austria; still retaining (in order to obviate mistakes) their own distinctive symbols, the white crosses, on their backs. These men, should the enemy be thrown into confusion, were ordered to fall in among them, and complete the discomfiture. The sun stood high, and the heat was intense, while the Confederates were advancing through corn-fields towards the chapel and the fence. The burghers at this time were feasting on the abundance of wine and provisions which had been sent out to them from the city; and were singing and shouting, confident of the victory they thought their superior numbers must insure them. The two hundred Schwitzers came forward on the left, and caused some alarm; but the burgomaster, perceiving their red crosses, suffered them to advance without impediment towards the bridge. The burghers knelt, prayed, and

and shot their arrows through the hedge as soon as they thought the enemy within reach ; but on a sudden, seeing the chief banner of the Confederates burst through the fence, and the hostile ranks spreading in front with incredible celerity, a sudden panic seized them ; they became deaf to the voice of their leaders ; ‘ Fly, ‘ Zurich, fly ! ’ was the general cry ; and they all ran with the utmost speed towards the bridge. They now perceived the white crosses on the backs of the two hundred Schwitzers ; and seeing themselves surrounded with dangers, the rout became general. Stussi in this extremity conducted himself as became a knight and a chief magistrate. Seeing the banners of the Confederates advancing rapidly across the meadow, he raised his ponderous battle-ax, and placed himself on the middle of the bridge : he upbraided the yielding ranks, and with a tremendous voice <sup>55</sup> called out, ‘ Halt, burghers, ‘ halt ! ’ but they, both blind and deaf to every order or rebuke, rushed by him, and left him singly exposed to the pursuing foe. Surrounded by carnage, he stood unmoved, like a rock dashed by raging billows. His lofty stature, his hoary head, his commanding aspect, awed even the most daring of his assailants. A harsh reproof he uttered, exasperated one of his own

<sup>55</sup> Σμερδαλία ἰάχων.

straggling

**CHAP.** straggling burghers. ‘By God’s wounds,’ said the traitor, ‘thou art the cause of all this evil;’ and levelling his spear, pierced him through the body. Thus fell the undaunted chief; his armour rung; the bridge shook under his massy weight. His death after all was glorious, for he died in the discharge of his duty.

While he was wallowing in his blood, many of the Confederates ran over the bridge, and some entered the city with the fugitives. A man of Glaris overtook the banneret of Zurich in the streets, slew him, and took his flag from him. A peasant of Zurich, privy no doubt to the contemptuous answer formerly sent by the town-clerk, met him in the utmost trepidation. ‘This,’ he said, ‘comes of thy insulting letters,’ and instantly stabbed him; too late alas! for the good of his wretched country. In the midst of this confusion and dismay, no one thought of the gate, which remained still open. A woman at length (her name was Ziegler) hastened, and let down the portcullis. The man of Glaris who had captured the flag, seeing himself cut off, handed the trophy across the bars to one of his comrades, and was soon after killed. The burghers now mounted their walls and towers, and at length repelled the assault. Meanwhile the Confederates pillaged the suburbs, and stripped the dead. The body of Stussi was dragged

dragged by some men of Glaris, perhaps his CHAP.  
II. kinsmen, to a neighbouring hedge; stripped, mangled, and hacked into small pieces, which they scattered in the river.<sup>56</sup> Such was the end of a man of eminent endowments; who would have ranked high in the temple of Fame, had he been as solicitous for the good of the confederacy, as he was for the partial advantage of his own city. His statue, in full armour, with his broad-sword and battle-ax, his helmet and his long beard, as he went forth on this hapless day still honoured and obeyed, is yet extant at Zurich, on a fountain near the house he is supposed to have inhabited.

The Confederates remained four days on the field of battle, challenging an attack. They burnt the church of St. Stephen in the suburbs, and the villages of Wiedikon, Rieden and Altstetten; and ravaged all the country as far as Kilchberg. Seated on the mangled bodies of their enemies, and with piles of dead before them as tables, they saw the flames, and feasted.

Such are the horrors of a civil war!

<sup>56</sup> They are said to have smeared their boots and spears with his fat, and to have bandied about his heart from hand to hand, and with his blood to have drawn indecent figures on the walls of the chapel. Except lately at Paris, where the people were once religious and polite, we have scarcely an instance in history of greater enormities than those committed in this fatal war.



## CHAP.

## II.

Invasion of  
the Armag-  
nacs.

During the short cessation that preceded this bloody expedition, the Margrave of Baden, seeing what men he had to contend with, and apprehensive of a factious spirit which gradually manifested itself among the burghers of Zurich, addressed himself to the princes of the empire, urging the necessity of a general concurrence in a war which he represented as highly-dangerous to all their respective interests. He succeeded with few ; and King Frederick himself was at this time too deeply engaged in a war against the Turks, the Hussites, and many of his own subjects, who murmured at his withholding certain territories which of right belonged to other branches of his family, to afford any effectual assistance in the Helvetic contest. In this dilemma, the Margrave resolved to have recourse to the Armagnacs.

These roving bands, which ever since the days of Cervola and Ingelram de Coucy had chiefly subsisted on indiscriminate plunder from friends and foes, as opportunities offered or their wants demanded, had of late, during the wars between France, England, and Burgundy, been trained to discipline, and commanded by two Counts of Armagnac, from whom they had derived their recent appellation. They were the terror of all the provinces they approached ; and many indigent nobles and lawless vagrants of Germany,

many, England, and other countries, encouraged by their example, had adopted a course of life similar to theirs. The French king Charles the Seventh, and Philip Duke of Burgundy, after peace had been restored between them and with England, in order to free the country from their depredations, had taken most of these adventurers into their pay. The margrave, in the name of Frederick, sent first to the Duke of Burgundy: but the conditions Philip prescribed being such as the king did not think fit to comply with, the application was made to Charles; who not only readily accepted the offer, but even named his son the dauphin to command the intended expedition, for which he destined an army of no less than fifty thousand men.

The Confederates, after the battle near Zurich, and the ravages they had committed not only in that vicinity, but all over the territories of that devoted canton, had once more retired to their homes. Several mediators, and among them many of the prelates at the council of Basle, assembled various meetings; and effected an armistice of eight months, and even appointed a congress for a general pacification. This congress actually met at Baden on the twenty-

1444.

CHAP.

II.

tories on the other, being still insisted upon as indispensable preliminaries, all negotiation proved once more ineffectual. When the terms proposed were brought to Zurich, and submitted to the consideration of the council, the burghers, who had received some intimations of their tenor, rose on a sudden, attacked and forced the town-house, seized several of the more moderate senators, confined them, and caused two of them to be publicly beheaded.

Preparations for war were now renewed with redoubled ardour ; and the Confederates, being likewise joined by the Appenzellers, once more took the field, and towards the end of April<sup>57</sup> assembled at Kloten. Hence they sent a circular letter to all the princes and states of the empire, vindicating their conduct : and at length resolved to lay siege to the city of Zurich. Meanwhile Thomas de Falkenstein, a co-burgher indeed, but till then a secret enemy of Berne (by whom he thought he had been injured in a legal decision), fell with a body of Austrians and of his own vassals, into the Argau, attempted the town of Arau, but being repulsed, marched down the river to Bruck, which he reduced ; and led away many captives, whom he confined in his castle of Farnsburg in the

<sup>57</sup> The armistice expired the 22d of April.

Frickthal.

Frickthal. Berne, being determined to revenge the insult, invested this castle.

CHAP.  
II.

These two sieges were proceeding with equal vigour and obstinacy, when the dauphin with the Armagnacs, led by John de Rechberg and Burcard Monk of Landscron, two inveterate foes of the Confederates, arrived in Alsace; and spread terror and devastation not only throughout Helvetia, but far into the heart of the empire. He fixed his head quarters at Monbelliard, and hence proclaimed his intention of raising the sieges of Zurich and Farnsberg. The magistrates of Basle however, fearful lest he might likewise have some design upon their city, where the council (to which France, at the instigation of Pope Eugene, was adverse) was still assembled, sent to the Confederates to solicit a reinforcement.

The urgency of the case, in which the whole nation was manifestly and deeply involved, admitted of no hesitation or delay. Sixteen hundred<sup>58</sup> men were immediately detached from both camps, and on the twenty-fifth of August advanced from Fransberg towards Basle.<sup>59</sup> In

Action at  
St. Jacob  
near Basle.

<sup>58</sup> Some authors say only 1200.

<sup>59</sup> The names of their leaders are amply entitled to a place in the annals of their country. Henry de Bubenbergh, Ulrich d'Erlach, Rudolph de Ringoltingen, and John de Muclleren, led on the Berners; Peterman Goldsmith, Ul-

ric

CHAP.  
II.

the evening they fell in with an advanced guard posted at Prattelen, which retired without offering much resistance. Proceeding to Mutenz they met with a detachment eight thousand strong, which stood its ground. They attacked it with the utmost impetuosity; routed it; and took many arms, horses, and some colours, which they returned to the enemy as evidences of their victory. Early the next morning they arrived near a bridge over the Birs; and met emissaries from Basle, admonishing them not to attempt the passage of the river, the main army of the dauphin being posted on its opposite banks. They might now have retreated with honour; but flushed with the successes of the preceding day, and not doubting that, as they were now within a mile of Basle, the burghers would make a seasonable diversion in their favour, they resolved to accomplish the purpose for which they had been sent, or to perish in the attempt. They came to the bridge; but found it so strongly defended, that the forcing it was deemed wholly impracticable. They now threw themselves into

ric de Hartenstein, Werner Keller, and John de Wyl, commanded the Lucerners; Henry Arnold and Eric Spieck, the Urners; John Muller and John Meler, the Underwalders; and Jobst Spiller and Erni Everard headed the Zugers.

the

the torrent, crossed it with the utmost speed, rushed up the opposite bank in the face of a numerous artillery, and began a dreadful slaughter, mowing down whole ranks of the enemy with their massy halberts, not however without great loss on their own part. Their forced marches, their previous conflicts, and their present arduous contest, had now so totally exhausted them, and their numbers were so greatly reduced, that in hopes of some respite they turned off to the right, and took shelter in the churchyard and orchard belonging to the hospital of St. Jacob, both surrounded by high walls. The burghers of Basle were at this critical moment preparing to send out a detachment: but the dauphin, who expected the attempt, had posted eight thousand men on an eminence near the gate; who, had the garrison ventured the sally, would have cut off their retreat, and exposed them to inevitable destruction. The cannon of the French meanwhile had not only thrown down the walls round the hospital, but also set fire to the building; and the Confederates, in the midst of flames and ruins, found themselves at the same time exposed to the attacks of accumulated numbers, without any defence but their firmness and valour. They still might have retreated without any disparagement to their honour; but after a short consultation, they

CHAP.

II.

they resolved to devote themselves for the good of their country, and fall together. The heroic deeds that were achieved in this memorable conflict, the number of fierce assaults this devoted band sustained and repelled, how each warrior fell successively on the identical spot he had first occupied, are facts imperfectly related, but may be well inferred from the general circumstances of the action. They fought ten hours without intermission; till at length, exhausted but not conquered, they all (twelve only excepted) lay lifeless on the field of action. Each had four or five enemies around him, whom he had dispatched before his fall. Æneas Sylvius, who was then at the council of Basle, relates that many of them, after having shot all their arrows, drew out those which had transfixed their own bodies, and returned them to the enemy. Burcard Monk, the faithless guide of the invaders, riding in the evening over the field of slaughter, exclaimed triumphantly, ‘This is indeed a bath of roses!’ An expiring Swiss heard him, raised himself upon his knees, snatched a large stone, and hurled it at the head of the vaunting traitor, who died three days after of the contusion. The twelve who, when no hopes remained, retired from the carnage, with difficulty escaped the hands of the executioner, to which the law of Sem-pach

pach doomed all who turned away from an enemy.<sup>60</sup> CHAP.  
II.

The dauphin concealed the number of his slain, by causing them to be immediately committed to the flames; but six hundred dead horses found on the field of battle sufficiently evince the magnitude of his loss.<sup>61</sup> Fearful of such another victory, he drew off his forces into Alsace, committed depredations on both sides of the Rhine, and gave King Frederick ample cause to repent his having called in such auxiliaries. After his retreat, the burghers of Basle gathered the bodies of the Confederates, and with solemn obsequies buried them in the church-yard of St. Jacob. The dauphin, struck with admiration at the valour and conduct he had witnessed this day, conceived from that moment the project of becoming the ally of so brave a people; and this project he failed not to execute soon after he became king under the name of Lewis the Eleventh.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup> In the *Voyage Pittoresque de la Suisse* (tab. 185) a plan, seemingly accurate, is given of this memorable action, which is there stiled *Helvetiorum Thermopyle*.

<sup>61</sup> Historians in general make the number of dead on the side of France amount to six thousand. No fact in history has perhaps a better collateral evidence than the conduct of eight hundred of the Swiss guards at Paris, on the 10th of August 1792; of whom seven hundred and twenty were butchered on their posts.

<sup>62</sup> Charles the Seventh, his father, impressed no doubt with the same sentiment, lost no time in entering into a treaty



CHAP.  
II.

The Confederates, doubtful what course the dauphin might now take, raised the sieges of Zurič and Fransberg, and went to guard their own frontiers. The war however was still carried on by alternate and destructive incursions. Several German princes, and among them the Counts of Wurtemberg, and even the more distant Margrave of Brandenburg, declared against the Confederates. Rapperswyl was besieged; and reduced to such extremity, that the inhabitants were compelled to feed on cats, rats, and mice. The Schwitzers, with a body of Appenzellers, crossed the Rhine, and raised contributions even to the confines of the Tyrol. Many encounters took place on the lake of Zurich, the last of which<sup>63</sup> proved decisive in favour of that city, which, all the vessels of the Confederates having been burnt, obtained now the sole command of the whole lake.

Amidst these devastations, meetings were frequently held for a termination of these disasters, and still chiefly under the auspices of the council of Basle; but the surrender of the Argau

treaty of amity with the cantons. Hence may be dated the origin of the foreign services in which the Swiss have since been so frequently engaged; an evil which renders this day, however glorious in other respects, one of the most fatal epochs in the annals of the confederacy.

<sup>63</sup> October the 29th.

being

being ever insisted upon on the part of Austria, they all still proved abortive. At length however, both parties being wholly exhausted, Hugh Count of Montford found no great difficulty in bringing many deputies of the contending parties together in a vessel on the lake of Zurich; where they conversed temperately on the miseries of their country, chalked out an equitable plan for an accommodation, ate and drank together, and agreed upon a general congress to be held in the next month of May at Constance, where all matters in contest should be finally adjusted. The congress met; and was attended by a great number of princes, prelates, nobles, and deputies of many imperial cities, all accompanied by numerous and splendid retinues.

CHAP.  
II.

1446.

1447.

After three weeks of conference, Lewis Count Palatine of the Rhine brought about a general pacification; with reference however to various subordinate arbitrators, to whose decisions the parties solemnly engaged to adhere. The Count Palatine and the city of Ulm were finally to determine all differences between Austria and the Confederates. The same Count was authorized to adjust some disagreement that had arisen between Berne and Friburg; but the main contest between Zurich and the Confederates was after all referred to the constitutional law of arbitration.

Thus

CHAP.

II.

Thus ended this calamitous and inhuman warfare; in which, as is usually the case in civil discords, all parties suffered great detriment, and none obtained any essential advantage. The Confederates indeed compassed their main object, the breaking the alliance between Zurich and Austria; and the Schwitzers retained Pfaffikon and Woltau. But all the cantons, now once more united, might, had they been moderate, have learnt the important lesson, that old friends are preferable to new ones, and that foreign aid is always dangerous. They ought to have congratulated themselves that this unhappy contest had not wholly subverted the confederacy, which they had hitherto supported with so much integrity and matchless valour.

CHAP.

## CHAP. III.

*The Burgundian War.*

HAD the Confederates profited by the experience they had so dearly purchased in their late civil contest, they would no doubt have ever and steadily resisted all new offers of foreign connections, and all temptations to further acquisitions; and thus might they have insured to themselves a long interval of peace and domestic happiness. But unmindful of the maxims by which alone this country can prosper, they soon after, emerging from their late imminent dangers, listened to the artful insinuations of designing neighbours, and found themselves once more involved in a destructive war, of far greater magnitude than any they had ever waged before; in which, when once they were deeply engaged, the very instigators to it deserted them; and which, though it afforded them abundance of laurels, yet gradually in its event undermined the national character, which had gained them the admiration of Europe, and to which they owed the inestimable blessing of their independence. A brief review of the dispositions and relative circumstances

CHAP.  
III.

of

CHAP.  
III.

of the several parties which had a share in the origin and prosecution of this war, will greatly facilitate the account which must now be given of its eventful progress.

Parties concerned in the war:—  
Austria.

The Emperor Frederick, though his hereditary prejudices were far from biassing him in favour of the Confederates, was yet, from his natural inactivity, and more so from the many adversaries he had to contend with in Hungary, Bohemia, and other parts of his extensive dominions, by no means to be considered as a formidable adversary. Not so his cousin Sigismund,<sup>1</sup> whom, after many repulses and delays, the emperor had at length invested with the Tyrol, Alsace, and the other dominions held by his father; and who succeeded to the claims his house still retained to the ample territories it had once possessed in various parts of Helvetia. His rooted antipathy against the Confederates, by whom he thought himself deprived of the fairest part of his inheritance, was far from being extinguished, when, by means of a dispute with Cardinal de Cusa, Bishop of Brixen, he incurred the papal excommunication. The execution of this ecclesiastical sentence being committed to the cantons, they actually seized

<sup>1</sup> Son of the late Frederick, whom the council of Constance had humbled.

on and retained the fertile province of Thurgau; and the people of Rapperswyl having at the same time raised an insurrection, which the duke had not the power to quell, voluntarily put themselves under the protection of the cantons of Schwitz, Uri, Underwalden, and Glaris. His necessitous circumstances however compelled him to restrain his resentment; and even early in his reign he saw himself obliged to restore to Zurich the county of Kyburg, for the expences of the preceding war, which he had been condemned to pay; and soon after to mortgage the town of Winterthur, the last of the possessions of Austria in Helvetia, and ultimately to cede it altogether to the city of Zurich.

CHAP.

III.

1460.

1457.

1467.

1452.

1467. •

Charles the Seventh, King of France, struck with admiration at the valour displayed by the Confederates at the battle of St. Jacob, embraced an early opportunity of offering an alliance, which was readily accepted by the eight cantons, and finally ratified at a congress held at Soleure. Its conditions extended no further than mutual friendship; and one of the clauses stipulated, 'that the inhabitants and subjects of the Swiss cantons should have free ingress and egress throughout the kingdom of France, with full liberty of commerce, and perfect security for their persons and property.'

France.

1453.

On the death of Charles, his son and successor

1461.

CHAP.  
III.

1463.

cessor Lewis the Eleventh not only renewed the treaty, but sought every opportunity of forming a still closer union with a people whose bravery he had personally witnessed, and whose services he moreover wanted against an aspiring adversary. History has stamped his character as a faithless, suspicious, and turbulent prince, whose designs were the more dangerous, as the means he had recourse to were generally of a base and insidious nature. Before his accession, being at variance with his father, he had taken refuge at the court of the Duke of Burgundy: but so far from establishing a friendly intercourse, or admitting impressions of gratitude for the kind reception he had there met with, he never ceased, by clandestine machinations, especially by the baneful arts of bribery, to expose him to inextricable difficulties, until he had actually completed his ruin.<sup>2</sup> To him chiefly if not solely is to be ascribed the war between the ill-fated Burgundian and the Swiss cantons.

Burgundy.

Charles Duke of Burgundy, the most prominent personage in the tragical scene before us, was at one time one of the most powerful and formidable among the princes of christendom.

<sup>2</sup> Charles VII., when he heard that his son had been kindly received at the court of Burgundy, observed, 'the Duke of Burgundy does not know the dauphin; he cherishes a fox who will one day devour his poultry.'

He

He possessed five dukedoms,<sup>3</sup> eight counties,<sup>4</sup> and four other considerable territories.<sup>5</sup> His pecuniary means were ample, having, besides his ordinary revenues, obtained frequent grants and subsidies from his clergy and states; and having moreover seized on a large fund which pious Christians had collected and deposited at Auxone for the purposes of a crusade. His immoderate ambition inspired him with the project of extending his dominions from the German ocean to the Mediterranean, and establishing a powerful kingdom in the heart of Europe. With this view, he repeatedly possessed himself of Lorrain, and endeavoured to extend his authority over the ecclesiastical states on the Rhine; but none, he saw, would oppose greater obstacles to his premeditated grandeur than the confederated cantons, the greatest part of which he considered as appendages to his hereditary dominions, and which therefore it appears to have been his prime object to subdue. His personal courage and spirit of enterprise had early procured him the appellations of *bold* and *audacious*, and his cruelty annexed to these the additional title of *terrific*. He had

<sup>3</sup> Burgundy, Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, Guelders.

<sup>4</sup> Flanders, Artois, Burgundy (since called Franche Comté), Holland, Zealand, Hainault, Namur, and Zutphen.

<sup>5</sup> Friesland, Antwerp, Malines, and Salines.



CHAP.

III.

been early trained to arms, and, till he engaged with the Confederates, had met with no considerable check. Edward the Fourth, King of England, was his brother-in-law. The Duke of Milan, René King of Sicily and Count of Provence, and Jolantha Dowager Duchess and administratrix of Savoy,<sup>6</sup> were his friends; and all of these occasionally became his allies, and either drew out in his favour, or helped to recruit his armies. His love of splendor shone forth in the magnificence of his equipages, his abundance of precious gems, and sumptuous apparel, all which he even took into the field, and which, by the powerful temptations they offered to his enemies, contributed perhaps not a little to his destruction. He was of a middle stature, dark complexion, and commanding aspect; vigilant, inured to all manner of hardships, temperate, and, differing in this from Philip the Good,<sup>7</sup> his father, true to his marriage vows. He is the first who, while Count of Charolois, took a body of Swiss into his pay; five hundred of them having been enrolled under one of his generals,<sup>8</sup> and marched to the

<sup>6</sup> Her brother, Lewis XI. on receiving her in the year 1476, at Tours, hailed her, '*Madame de Bourgogne, soyez la bien venue.*'

<sup>7</sup> The Good Philip had no less than fourteen bastards.

<sup>8</sup> The Duke of Calabria.

... army

army which he and other princes, confederated under the name of *the League of the Public Good*, were collecting against France. CHAP.  
III.

1464.

Both Lewis, and his epileptic son Amadeus, Dukes of Savoy, were from the situation of their territories, and the nature of their various claims, inevitably engaged in frequent disputes with the Swiss cantons, especially with Berne, chiefly concerning the boundaries of the Pays de Vaud, and the sovereignty of Friburg, till now an Austrian dependence. The burghers of this city, disgusted by the insulting demeanour of Duke Albert, brother to the emperor, who came among them merely to inveigle them into disputes with their neighbours, and finding themselves moreover wholly unprotected by the princes of that house, resolved to accept another sovereign. They hesitated some time between the Duke of Savoy and Berne, but at length preferred the former, on condition of his paying the sum of fifteen thousand florins to that canton, in consideration of its waving a previous contract, by which it was to share in the sovereignty. The co-burghership between the two cities was upon this occasion renewed and solemnly attested. On the death of Lewis, Duke Amadeus being too feeble to engage in the complicated duties of government, his consort Jolantha assumed the reins,

1464.

1465.

CHAP.  
III.

1472.

reins, and retained them even after his death, her son Philibert being at that time only seven years of age. She was frequently opposed, but at times also supported, by the Counts of Geneva, Romont, and Bresse, the brethren of her late husband. The latter espoused the cause of the French king; but Romont, as well as the duchess, we shall often see taking an active part in favour of the Burgundian, in his wars against the Confederates.

Milan.

Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, though he did not openly espouse the cause of Charles, never prevented his subjects from engaging in his service, and considerable bodies of them met with severe repulses in their attempts to penetrate through the Valais, in their way to the Burgundian army. He was not, however, so inimical to the Confederates, but that, for reasons which have not reached our knowledge, he accepted, and appears even to have solicited, a treaty with the cantons, which, under the name of the *Capitulate of Milan*, provided for the mutual security of the traders and itinerants of each contracting party, and transferred the property of the vale Levina to the canton of Uri, which it has retained even to our days.

1466.

Lorrain.

René, of the house of Vaudemont, had, in the twenty-second year of his age, succeeded,  
in

in right of his mother, Jolantha of Anjou,<sup>9</sup> to the duchies of Bar and Lorrain; but was immediately seized, together with his mother, by the audacious Charles, who coveted his dominions. They were indeed soon released, at the instance of Lewis the Eleventh, but it was not till after the untimely death of the usurper that he was allowed to retain quiet possession of his hereditary dominions.

CHAP.  
III.

1473.

Besides the capitulate of Milan, the transfer of the sovereignty of Friburg to the Duke of Savoy, and of Kyburg, Thurgau, Rapperswyl, and Winterthur, to the cantons, few other changes respecting the members of the confederacy took place in the interval between the civil and the Burgundian wars, which may not be here passed over wholly unnoticed. Caspar de Landenberg, Abbot of St. Gallen, in a contest he had with his city, dreading lest its burghers should anticipate a league with the Confederates, and thus obtain an ascendancy which might overpower him, resolved to take the lead, and hastily formed an union with Zurich, Lucern, Schwitz, and Glaris, by which he bound himself and all his vassals between the lakes of Constance and Zurich, to afford aid to the Confederates in all their emergencies, with-

Domestic  
transac-  
tions pre-  
vious to  
the war.

1451.

<sup>9</sup> Sister to Margaret Queen of England.

in

CHAP.

III.

in these limits, and to accept the arbitration of the four cantons in all contests in which the adverse party might appeal to them. The city, three years after, followed his example, and formed a perpetual league with six of the cantons,<sup>10</sup> in which mutual defence was stipulated, though with some limitations on the part of the cantons, and a manifest preference in their favour in case of any difference between the contracting parties.

The country of Appenzel about the same time entered into an alliance with the ancient cantons, Berne only excepted. It has ever since, in all its dangers, faithfully adhered to the confederacy ; and sixty years after it was admitted as the thirteenth canton in the union.

1452.

The city of Shaffhausen, which the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria had mortgaged to the house of Austria, had at the time of the council of Constance been resumed by the Emperor Sigismund, and restored to the empire. It was now once more claimed by Duke Sigismund, who even obtained a mandate from the emperor his cousin, for being reinstated in the possession of it. The burghers would probably have submitted, had not the nobles irritated them by anticipated insults, and thereby induced them

<sup>10</sup> Zurich, Berne, Lucern, Schwitz, Zug, and Glaris.

to solicit an union with the Confederates. Their offer was readily accepted by six of the cantons,<sup>11</sup> and on the league being proclaimed with great exultation in the city, an Austrian camp, which had already been pitched at their gates, withdrew with some precipitation, lest the Confederates should compel that which they wished might be considered as a voluntary act.

CHAP.  
III.

1454.

Rudolph Marquis of Hochberg, and Count of Neuchattel, about this time, established a co-burghership with the canton of Berne, by which he freed himself from the vassalage of the house of Chalons. During the wars that now impended, he resided chiefly at Berne; but it is somewhat remarkable that, with the approbation of the canton, he actually suffered his son Philip to assume a command in the Burgundian army.

The peace between Austria and the Confederates, received soon after a temporary interruption by the act of Pilgrim de Heudorf, an Austrian nobleman, who retained a secret animosity against the city of Shaffhausen on account of a legal decision, in which he considered himself to have been aggrieved. He seized the burgomaster of the city, and detained him

1468.

<sup>11</sup> Zurich, Berne, Lucern, Underwalden, Zug, and Glaris.

in

CHAP.  
III.

in close confinement until he had paid a ransom of eighteen hundred florins. Henry de Regesheim another of the duke's vassals, about the same time, availed himself of a trifling difference that had arisen in the city of Mulhausen (which had two years before become an ally of Berne and Soleure) to arraign its magistrates before an Austrian bailiff in Alsace, who, on their refusing to obey his summons, proceeded to open acts of hostilities. These incidents soon armed the whole Confederacy. A body of seven thousand men collected from all the cantons, and marched into the Sundgau and the Black Forest, where, after destroying many castles and villages, they sat down before the town of Waldshut, and assailed it with unabated vigour. They were on the point of reducing it, when terms of accommodation were offered by Austria, which being accepted, gave rise to the peace of Waldshut, the conditions of which were, that Austria should reimburse the eighteen hundred florins his vassal had extorted from the burgomaster of Shaffhausen, and indemnify the Confederates for the expences of the war, by the sum of ten thousand florins to be paid at stated periods, the towns of the Black Forest being made over as securities for the performance of these conditions.

Sigismund could ill brook the repeated injuries

ries he had sustained on the part of the Confederates, and was moreover unable to raise the sums which by the late treaty he had bound himself to disburse. Prompted both by resentment and necessity, he resolved to seek aid of some neighbouring potentate. From his cousin the emperor he had little expectation, knowing his natural apathy, and the many other adversaries he had to contend with; and being moreover conscious that the offence he had given, by the preremptory claim he had made of his father's dominions, had not yet been obliterated. He hence resorted in person to the court of the French king, not doubting, from his conduct in the war of Zurich, that he would gladly contribute to check the progress of the aspiring Confederates: but the artful Lewis had very different objects in view. Besides the admiration he had conceived of the Swiss, he had determined to cultivate their friendship, in order to oppose them to the Duke of Burgundy, whose actual power, and manifest projects of further aggrandizement had abundantly alarmed his apprehensions.

Having failed in this attempt, Sigismund immediately repaired to Arras, where he met the Duke of Burgundy, who, not having yet experienced the dangers of a contest with the Swiss, readily listened to his proposals, and gladly

1469,



CHAP.  
III.

gladly. accepted of a mortgage he offered him of the counties of Pfirt, Sundgau, Brisgau, Alsace, and the four forest towns, for the loan of eighty thousand florins, which Charles immediately deposited. Besides the urgent want he had of this supply, the Austrian moreover was well aware that the contiguity of these territories to the boundaries of the Swiss would soon bring on dissensions, which he doubted not would end in an open rupture. The Confederates soon perceived the drift of this transaction, and endeavoured to avert the danger, by sending their co-burgher, the Count of Neuchattel, to conciliate the friendship of Charles, and offer a treaty at least of amity, if not of mutual defence. The duke not only rejected the overtures, but sent a governor to his new-acquired territories, whom he knew to be an inveterate enemy to the Swiss, and who, he was certain, would soon occasion discontents, and raise commotions of which he meant to avail himself.

1470.

The Swiss now shewed very little reluctance in accepting a new treaty offered them by the King of France, which was confirmed at Berne, and ratified at Tours on the twentieth of October, and according to which both parties, considering the Duke of Burgundy as a common enemy, solemnly bound themselves to afford him no manner of assistance. This fully answered

answered the purpose of the crafty Lewis, since the pretence thereby afforded, greatly accelerated the steps Charles had long meditated against the Confederates.

CHAP.  
III.

Peter de Hagenbach, the prefect the Duke of Burgundy sent to govern his new territories on the Rhine, soon betrayed a disposition which alarmed both the people of those provinces and their neighbours. Besides the violences he himself committed, he countenanced all those of others, who frequently detained and plundered travellers, and openly encouraged the inhabitants of the districts contiguous to the territories of Berne and Soleure, to molest their neighbours, and even vindicated the audacity of some who raised Burgundian colours in the bailiwick of Shenkenburg, belonging to Berne. Pilgrim de Heudorf, who continued to harass the people of Shaffhausen, had recently seized near Brisach some Swiss merchants, whom, having stripped them of their effects, he detained in a castle until they were forcibly released by the burghers of Strasburgh, who reprobated such wanton breaches of public faith. This ruffian, the lawless Hagenbach not only tolerated, but even encouraged in his acts of depredations: he moreover publicly declared, that his master meant shortly to attack the Swiss: and insinuated that he had been promised the counties  
of

CHAP.  
III.

of Lenzburg, Thun and Nidau, as a reward for his faithful and important services. The duke himself, in fact, declared, through his ambassadors, at a diet held at Lucern in the month of May, that he had taken Sigismund of Austria under his immediate protection, and that he should uphold him as well as Hagenbach, Heudorf, and the other obnoxious lords, in all their iniquitous proceedings.

1473.

1474.

Lewis saw with exultation the flames kindling, and while he was making repeated treaties with Charles, neglected no means which might accelerate the explosion. Gold was his best advocate, and he was not sparing of it to the unguarded Confederates. This motive, and the frequent provocations they had experienced, failed not to urge them, chiefly however at the instigation of Berne, to enter into a third league with Lewis. This treaty was particularly levelled at the Burgundian duke, and contained both offensive and defensive clauses. It regulated the pay of the Swiss who might be induced to enter into the service of France: Lewis promised besides to deposit annually at Lyons the sum of twenty thousand livres, to be distributed among the different cantons; and agreed, that in case the Confederates should be at war with the duke, and the king should not be able to assist them with forces, he would, besides the above subsidy,

subsidy, cause to be paid to them every three months, twenty thousand florins, as long as the said war should last. The Confederates, lastly, engaged, in case of a war, not to make peace with the duke, without comprising the interests of the king; he binding himself reciprocally to the faithful observance of a similar condition.

Notwithstanding this close alliance, the Confederates were still averse to commence the war, which Lewis so strenuously endeavoured to foment. Charles having resolved to visit his newly acquired dominions, came with a numerous and splendid retinue to Brisach, and was there met by deputies from Berne, Soleure and Eriburg, who had been instructed to remonstrate against the conduct of Hagenbach, Heudorf, and the other oppressive nobles, whom the duke had taken under his immediate protection; to remind him of the friendly intercourse that had long subsisted between them and the sovereigns of Burgundy; and to request proper redress, and a return of confidence and friendship: but their remonstrances made no impression upon the obdurate prince. He received the deputies with austere reserve; would not suffer them to address him but on their knees; and dismissed them at Dijon (whither they had followed him, in hopes of softening him by their obsequious perseverance) without deigning to give them any answer.

CHAP. answer.<sup>12</sup> Lewis now conceived a project  
 III. which, not many years before, would have  
 been deemed preposterous, if not impracticable. He caused a proposal to be made for an alliance between Austria and the cantons: he was probably apprized that Sigismund, who had severely felt the power of the Confederates, would be glad by such a compact to secure the remainder of his dominions against all dangers from that quarter; and on the other hand, he had just reason to expect that the cantons would readily accede, in order to establish a quiet possession of the territories they had wrested from Austria, and for which they had been incessantly struggling for upwards of half a century. He had moreover fair hopes that Sigismund, having nothing to fear on the part of Helvetia, would instantly resume his mortgage of the counties on the Rhine, which Charles he knew would be unwilling to surrender; and thus he had no doubt that he should eventually excite an additional and very unexpected enemy to his formidable adversary. Through his contrivance, and a proper application of pecuniary inducements, a congress actually met at Constance, where Sigismund attending in person, met the plenipotentiaries of King Lewis, the Count Palatine, the Margrave

<sup>12</sup> On this, or perhaps some other occasion, the Swiss deputies assured the duke that the whole riches of their country did not exceed in value the bridles and stirrups of his cavalry.

of Baden, the Bishops of Strasburg and Basle, the magistrates or deputies of the cantons, and those of the principal cities in Alsace and along the Rhine, which latter had now formed an union since known by the name of the *Lower League*.<sup>13</sup> The first object here was the alliance between Austria and the Confederates, which, under the name of the *Hereditary Union*, was speedily drawn up, accepted, and finally ratified, or rather guaranteed, by King Lewis, at Senlis, on the eleventh of June. Its conditions extended to mutual defence and freedom of intercourse, and likewise the amicable adjustment of any difference that might arise between the parties. Another, and likewise a defensive treaty, was at the same time entered into at this congress, between Duke Sigismund, the Helvetic Confederacy, and the cities of the lower league, the chief object of which was to restrain the outrages still daily practised by Hagenbach and his odious accomplices. Thus by one of those singular combinations of events in which history abounds, did the very same people, which had stripped the house of Austria of all its hereditary territories in Helvetia, join now in an engagement to protect that very house, in the possession of dominions which it had recently mortgaged for the means of carrying on a war against themselves.

CHAP.  
III.

Hereditary  
Union be-  
tween Au-  
stria and  
the Confe-  
derates.

<sup>13</sup> Strasburg, Basle, Colmar, Shlestad, Monbilliard, &c.

The

## CHAP.

## III.

~~~~~ The cities of Strasburg and Basle having advanced the sums required, for the repayment of which Lewis made himself responsible, Sigismund deposited at Basle the eighty thousand florins lent him by the Duke of Burgundy, apprising him at the same time, that he should now resume the mortgaged provinces, and that he meant immediately to enter into the possession of them. Charles, as King Lewis expected, rejected the offer with disdain, pretending, among other evasive pleas, that the loan was to be refunded at Besançon, and not at Basle.

Hagenbach in the mean time, whether instructed, or elated by the favour and countenance he had experienced from his master during his late visit, had laid aside all moderation, and even the very semblance of justice. He insulted the cities of Basle and Strasburg, over which he had no legal jurisdiction, and threatened to send them Burgundian garrisons. The people of Mulhausen, who were in close alliance with the Confederates, he harassed by every species of insult he could devise; he introduced into his towns bodies of Flemish mercenaries, who committed all manner of outrage; he even, in the wantonness of unlimited power, abridged the nobles of their privileges; and thus uniting all ranks against him, brought on his own ruin, and prepared that of his master, who may well be

be held up as a warning to princes who think they may with impunity sport with the feelings of their people. CHAP.  
III.

The atrocious governor, however, soon perceived that a storm was gathering, and with a view to insure a strong retreat, threw himself, with four hundred of his hirelings, into the town of Brisach, which he ordered to be secured by strong fortifications. In this he found himself obstructed by the inhabitants, who moreover, conceiving themselves no longer amenable to his authority, seized his person in the name of their rightful sovereign, and cast him into a dungeon. Sigismund was no sooner apprized of this decisive measure than he repaired to Brisach, and received the joyful homage of his former subjects. Here a message was also brought him from Duke Charles, upbraiding him with a breach of faith, and denouncing vengeance in case he should dare to proceed to extremities with his confidential servant. Sigismund however, equally regardless of his reproofs and menaces, proceeded to appoint a tribunal for the trial of the execrated tyrant, to which, in order to involve other states besides himself in the event, he invited magistrates from the cities of the lower league, and more particularly from the confederate cantons. Hagenbach was arraigned in the morn-



CHAP.  
III.

ing of the ninth of May. Some charges of oppression he answered, by adducing the express orders of the duke his master; others he extenuated by alleging the provocations that had compelled him to use severity; and those of rapes and wantonness he retorted upon his judges, asserting that he had done no more than they themselves daily practised, adding, that as to the former imputation he had never found it necessary to use violence. His trial lasted the whole day: in the evening he received sentence of death; and was beheaded in the night, by torch-light.

Charles fired with indignation at this proceeding: yet, having greater projects in view than merely that of avenging the death of an obnoxious minion, he checked his passion, and even sent to the Swiss a conciliatory message, representing to them the impolicy of their preferring a new ally, such as the house of Austria, which had for centuries been their relentless foe, to an ancient friend and confederate like himself; reminding them of the good understanding that had so long subsisted between them and himself as well as his ancestors; intimating how hostile the King of France, while dauphin, had been towards them in their civil war; and assuring them, that he had always been ready to restore the mortgaged territories,  
had

had Sigismund fulfilled the conditions of the contract; and that as to any misconduct of Hagenbach, he would have given ample satisfaction, had an appeal been made to his justice. The Swiss however recollected the treatment of their deputies at Brisach, and paid no regard to these specious professions, which they considered as mere pretences in order to gain time for hostile preparations. Charles could not so wholly suppress his resentment, but that he seized on the person of Henry Count of Wurtemberg, who had been accessory to the death of his favourite; and summoned his town of Monbelliard, which however prepared for a vigorous resistance. The Berners seeing their own peril in the danger that menaced this neighbouring city, which they considered as a key to their own country, declared that they took it under their immediate protection; and in this they were followed by the rest of the cantons.

Charles was now at open war with Lewis; but having prevailed upon Edward the Fourth of England to take an active part in the contest, and even to invade the kingdom of France, he found himself at full liberty to pursue the favourite plan he had for some time had in contemplation, of extending his dominions on the side of the empire. One of the previous steps towards the attainment of this object, he conceived

CHAP.  
III.

to be the securing an ascendancy over the ecclesiastical states on the Rhine; and with this view he sent to Cologne to demand the advocacy of that metropolitan see, being supported in his claim by the concurrence of the archbishop,<sup>14</sup> who was then at variance with his chapter. Having however received a formal refusal, he advanced from Maestricht with an army of sixty thousand men, and besieged the town of Nuys, not doubting that the reduction of that adjacent fortress would intimidate the chapter into compliance. Charles, it must be owned, betrayed in the whole of this transaction a want of sagacity unworthy of his other great talents; since it appears manifest that had he at that time, or even after he raised the siege of Nuys, joined his forces to those of Edward, he would infallibly have overpowered an enemy, who in the sequel proved the chief cause of his disasters; whereas by admitting a prolongation of the war between England and France, opportunities were afforded to Lewis to apply his usual and most effective weapon, which the English courtiers knew not how to resist. A proper distribution of gold soon freed him from an invader, who had espoused the cause with little alacrity, and was ill prepared to maintain it through a period of any length.

<sup>14</sup> Rupert Count Palatine.

The

The siege of Nuys, which detained the duke a whole year, and the instigations and fair promises of King Lewis, who gave hopes of ample supplies, which he never meant to accomplish, drew out the emperor against the Burgundian : but Charles knowing the want of energy of that monarch, and the many impediments that cramped his operations, was by no means diverted by this new semblance of resistance from prosecuting his favourite design. He resolved upon a diversion against the cities of the lower league, and sent the Count de Blamont with a body of six thousand cavalry into the Sundgau, where, after ravaging the open country, they took, pillaged, and burnt, upwards of thirty villages, and returned into Upper Burgundy loaded with spoils extorted from innocent victims. This near approach of hostile arms at length afforded matter of serious consideration to the Confederates: they held a meeting at Lucern, and were there met by the representatives of the Emperor, the King of France, the Duke of Austria, various neighbouring princes and prelates, and the cities of the lower league. All these urged abundance of persuasive arguments to impel the Confederates to a declaration of war, forcibly pointing out the danger of delay when an attack was manifestly intended, and strongly insisting upon the certainty of success, when

CHAP.

III.

War de-  
clared.

when so many powerful and steady allies co-operated. At length, overcome by persuasions, and stunned as it were by importunities and fair promises, they on the twenty-seventh of October, still however with reluctance, drew up their declaration, and sent it to the Count de Blamont, who conveyed it to the duke at his camp before Nuys. Charles received it with disdain. After a long pause, his rage preventing his utterance, he at length, being well apprized which of the cantons had chiefly contributed to this bold resolve, exclaimed, 'Oh, Berne, Berne!' and shewed symptoms of resentment which struck all around him with terror.

The Berners now took the field with their allies of Friburg, Soleure, and Bienne, and invested Hericourt, one of the mortgaged towns near Monbelliard, which Charles had granted to Thibaud of Neuchattel, then marshal of Burgundy. Here they were joined by the rest of the cantons, Underwalden only excepted, which, having still some points in dispute with the Duke of Austria, refused to participate in this war. Notwithstanding an attempt made by a strong body of Burgundians to relieve the town, it surrendered after a siege of fourteen days, and was restored to the Duke of Austria.

1475.

A body of Berners, with some men of Lucern and Soleure, early in the succeeding month of February,

February, forced their way through the Jura, and took possession of Pontarlier in Upper Burgundy. They here repelled an attack of a much superior force of Burgundians; burnt the town and castle; and returned into the Pays de Vaud, where the Count of Romont had collected forces, and with the concurrence of Jolantha of Savoy, his sister-in-law, and of two Counts of Chalons, who had engaged in the service of Charles, had commenced open hostilities against the Confederates. Among the several towns which they took,<sup>15</sup> none made so vigorous a resistance as Orbe, the garrison of which, consisting chiefly of nobles, after burning the town, when they found they could no longer defend it, retired into the castle. This strong post the Confederates immediately stormed, and having entered it, cast many of the lords over the battlements into the burning ruins, and put the remainder to the sword. In a subsequent inroad into this country, the Confederates marched as far as Lausanne, which they laid under contribution; and threatened the city of Geneva, which warded off the blow by agreeing to pay a ransom of twenty-six thousand florins.

Charles meanwhile, having the emperor with an army of eighty thousand men, and, by the

<sup>15</sup> Granson, Orbe, Montagny, Echallens; all belonging to the Counts of Chalons.

retreat

CHAP.  
III.

retreat of King Edward, the whole force of the French monarch, in the field against him ; having moreover the Duke of Lorraine to contend with, who, under pretence of a breach of promise, but chiefly at the instigation of Lewis, had made an inroad into the duchy of Luxemburg ; seeing likewise the dangers to which his frontiers towards Swisserland were exposed, thought it high time to free himself from some of the numerous enemies that now surrounded him. He found the least difficulty with the emperor, who was never earnest in the cause. A truce was concluded by the mediation of the pope's legate, on the twenty-fifth of May, by which Frederick engaged to abandon the grand alliance, and the duke agreed to raise the siege of Nuys, and to forsake the cause of the Archbishop of Cologne, whom he had engaged to support in his contest with his chapter.

The proud Charles condescended now also to demand an armistice from the French monarch. Nothing had ever gratified Lewis so much as the intelligence of the attacks made upon Burgundy by the Confederates. He saw now the prospect of a speedy completion of his deep-laid project ; and, having purchased a peace with Edward, he thought he might safely rely upon the Swiss for the final destruction of his rival, without involving himself in the dangers of the  
bloody

bloody war, which he well knew must precede that wished-for event. He readily accepted the offer of Charles, and, forgetting altogether his solemn engagement with the cantons not to enter into any treaty with the duke without their participation, concluded a nine years truce, which was ratified at Soleure on the thirteenth of September. The crafty monarch knowing that Charles meant now to direct his whole power against the Swiss, expressed his surprise that he had not demanded a longer term, 'for,' said he, 'the duke is little aware what people he is going to contend with, nor what a rod he has prepared for his own back.'

Sigismund, though he did not formally renounce the grand alliance, yet by the defection of the emperor his cousin, was deprived not only of the means, but also of the inclination, to co-operate effectually in promoting the purposes for which it had been formed; and thus, when the Confederates saw the whole power of Burgundy coming forth against them, they looked round them, and found themselves wholly deserted by all the allies (the lower league only excepted) at whose instigation they had exposed themselves to the threatening storm. No comment is here necessary. The facts themselves will suggest abundance of reflections, which have been amply expatiated upon by all the Swiss



CHAP.  
III.

Swiss historians. Little indeed can be said in extenuation of these instances of perfidy in men who are deemed the fountain of honour: but it must be owned that we do not read of many kings like Lewis the Eleventh.

Charles having thus freed himself from what he considered the most powerful of his antagonists, began his schemes of vengeance against the Duke of Lorraine, the first victim of Lewis's treachery. In a short space of time he over-ran the [whole duchy; attacked and took Nancy, into which, on the thirtieth of November, he made a triumphal entry; and obliged the hapless René to seek his personal safety by flight. During the progress of this conquest, Charles took the town of Brie, in which he found two hundred and fifty Swiss, whom, contrary to the terms of capitulation, he caused to be hanged under its walls. In the month of January he repaired to Besançon, where he immediately made preparations for the formidable attack he meditated against the Confederates.

1476.

Charles was too impatient to wait for the return of spring: he quitted Besançon on the sixth of February; and on the twelfth appeared before Orbe, and spread a numerous host all over the adjacent country. The Confederates lost no time in assembling their forces. They met from all quarters: Berne and Friburg sent garrisons

garrisons to Iverdun and Granson ; but finding that the former post could not be maintained, they removed their men to Granson, where preparations were made for a very vigorous defence. The duke led his army<sup>16</sup> before this place on the nineteenth, and established his magnificent camp on the acclivities around it. On the twenty-fifth he carried the town by storm, but had not as yet made any impression upon the castle. The Confederates, under Nicholas de Sharnachthal and John de Hallwyl, were encamped at Morat, and were waiting for additional reinforcements before they would venture to relieve the place, which they well knew might hold out some time longer. Charles, exasperated at the delay opposed to his progress by so insignificant an obstacle, had recourse to treachery. He sent into the garrison an emissary, to acquaint them that the Confederates were in the utmost discord, that the Burgundians had taken and burnt Friburg, and that Berne was on the point of sharing the same fate; and likewise to admonish them to accept of their free dismissal, which the duke was willing to allow them if they would immediately surrender. The garrison hinted at the example of Brie; but the emissary vindicated his master by

<sup>16</sup> Historians differ widely concerning the numbers of this army : some make it amount to 100,000 ; none make it less than 50,000.

CHAP.  
III.

specious pretences and solemn asseverations; and positively declared that no harm should befall them, if they reposed full confidence in the duke's honour and magnanimity.

Thus influenced they surrendered, and marched out on the twenty-seventh of February; but scarce had they passed the gates when they were seized, bound, and led through the camp among the scoffs and insults of the whole army. On the next morning four hundred and fifty of them were hanged on the trees round the town; and on the succeeding day, one hundred and fifty more, being the remainder of this devoted band, were carried out in boats and sunk in the lake. This atrocious deed, whilst it drew upon the perfidious duke the execration of his foes, did by no means add to the love of those who were willing to befriend him.

Battle of  
Granson.

The Swiss army meanwhile, which now consisted of near twenty thousand men, had marched round the lake to Neuchattel, and on Saturday the third of March arrived at Vaumarcus, where they began skirmishing with the Burgundian outposts, and encountered a battery which they could not silence. The report of the artillery brought the duke instantly out of his intrenched camp. His van, consisting of ten thousand Lombards and Savoyards, was led by Anthony and Baldwin, two bastards of Burgundy, and the Prince of Orange; he headed the

the main body himself; and the rear he entrusted to John Duke of Cleves. The ground was very uneven, and so intersected by torrents and ravines, as wholly to preclude the use of heavy cannon. The banners of Schwitz and Thun formed the van of the confederate army, and took an advantageous post on an eminence. They were soon joined by those of Berne and Friburg. As they approached the enemy, they, according to their usual practice, fell on their knees to implore a blessing from on high. The Burgundians, imagining this detachment to be the whole of the army, mistook their act of devotion for an offer of surrender. Their first attack discovered their error; they were repulsed with loss; and their leaders, perceiving how unfavourable the spot was for military evolutions, ordered their ranks to retreat, in order to allure the Confederates to a more advantageous ground. At this instant came forward more of the confederate banners, and the feigned retreat of the Burgundians was soon converted into a real flight; they fell back upon their main body, and threw it into the utmost confusion. The duke flew among the disordered ranks, exclaimed that the retreat of the van was a mere stratagem, and used every effort to restore order and confidence; but all in vain: more of the Swiss banners came in sight,

CHAP.  
III.

CHAP.  
III.

sight, and a general trepidation seized the whole: they gave way on all sides; and, not even trusting to the security their strong camp might have afforded, fled in all directions.

Thus did the Confederates, in a few hours, and with the loss of only fifty men, obtain a complete victory; and, the whole Burgundian camp having fallen into their hands, they acquired a booty of which there is scarce an instance in history. Here they found abundance of ammunition and provisions; one hundred and twenty pieces of ordnance,<sup>17</sup> most of them culverines; four hundred magnificent tents, some of silk lined with velvet, and embroidered with gold and pearls; six hundred richly decorated flags. In the duke's tent they found the largest diamond at that time known to exist;<sup>18</sup> a precious jewel called the three brethren;

<sup>17</sup> Lauffer mentions 420; but this number appears highly improbable.

<sup>18</sup> Watteville traces the progress of this diamond through various hands, from Will. de Diesbach, who he says bought it in 1492 for 5000 florins, to those of the Duke of Milan, who sold it to Pope Julius II. by whom and his successors it has ever after been worn as the chief ornament of the papal crown. Du Fresnoy, the editor of the Mem. of Phil. de Comines, positively asserts that it is the well-known *Sancy*, the second diamond in the crown of the French king. And Meister, in his *Hauptszenen*, vol. i. p. 89, mentions a MSc. of Joh. Jac. Fugger, in the Electoral

a sword set with seven great diamonds, seven rubies, and fifty pearls ; his plate, said to have been upwards of four hundred pounds in weight ; great stores of rich carpets and tapestry ; his golden seal, and the whole of his chancery. The nobles, who vied with each other in sumptuous attire and equipage, lost all their effects ; nor could the many merchants, and upwards of three thousand women, who attended the camp, save any of their property. The loss in men did not exceed two thousand, but it would have been greater had the Swiss had any cavalry.<sup>19</sup> The duke estimated his own loss at

Library of Bavaria, in which the writer says, that this diamond, together with other precious gems, had been purchased by one of his ancestors ; and that, coming to him by inheritance, he had sold it to Henry VIII. King of England ; and that Philip, husband to Queen Mary, had taken it with him to Spain ; so that it has in fact returned to the descendants of Duke Charles. The pains that have been taken to ascertain which of these accounts is true, have hitherto proved ineffectual.

<sup>19</sup> Phil. de Comines pretends that the duke lost only seven men ; but this is not the only instance of his want of accuracy. He expatiates on the gross simplicity of the Swiss in estimating the value of their booty. The plate, he says, they sold for pewter ; a rich embroidered tent they cut and portioned out in small pieces ; the soldier who found the great diamond tossed it about as a thing of no value, and at length sold it to a priest for one florin, who afterwards parted with it for three livres. Happy, had this people always continued in such an ignorance of the fictitious value of objects that confer no real distinction.

, ON

CHAP.

III.

one million of florins, and the whole booty is said to have amounted to thrice that value. But the greatest loss of all was the loss of reputation. The name of Charles no longer struck terror around him : his allies became lukewarm ; the Duke of Milan and the King of Sicily, the latter of whom had made a will in favour of Charles, publicly deserted him ; even Jolantha wavered in her fidelity, and suffered her brother-in-law, the Count of Bresse, to seize on twenty thousand crowns which Charles had entrusted to one of his nobles for the purpose of levying recruits in Savoy and the neighbouring provinces.

The triumph of the Swiss suffered no small abatement when they approached Granson and saw the suspended bodies of their friends and countrymen, and those which had been thrown up lifeless on the shore. They collected their lamentable remains, and, with mournful obsequies, committed them to the earth in the cemetery of the unshod Carmelites. The castle was immediately reduced, and the Burgundians who were found in it were hung on the same trees, and by the same halters, that had been fatal to their too credulous countrymen. The captain and some nobles they spared, and exchanged them with the few prisoners the duke had made in the early part of this unfortunate expedition.

Having

Having as usual remained three days on the field of battle, the greatest part chose to return to their homes, to receive the congratulations of their friends, and to exhibit the rich spoils a few hours of well-timed intrepidity had procured them.

CHAR.  
III.

Charles after the battle fled to Joigni on Mount Jura, and thence to Nozeroy in Upper Burgundy, where those around him saw him stung with shame, and so torn with vindictive rage, as to shew evident marks of delirium, which, a contemporary author says, never after forsook him.<sup>20</sup> Here, however, he remained not long inactive; but, eagerly bent on revenge, he resolved to make every effort to retrieve his lost power and reputation. He sent an obsequious message to the King of France to request his further observance of the truce. Lewis, who had removed to Lyons, in order to be near the scene of action, and had received the intelligence of the victory of Granson with public marks of exultation, knew that, if suffered to proceed, Charles would not desist from his vain attempts against the Swiss, until reduced to utter ruin. He hence solemnly promised to

<sup>20</sup> 'A bien dire la verité, je croy que jamais depuis il n'eut l'entendement si bon qu'il avoit eu auparavant cette bataille.' Phil. de Comines, l. v. c. 3.



CHAP.  
III.

adhere faithfully to his engagement ; while at the same time, to prevent the Confederates from listening to any offers of accommodation, he sent them private but false assurances, that he meant to make a powerful diversion in their favour.

On the fourteenth of May, Charles had already assembled an army of sixty thousand men at Lausanne, near one half of which had been raised in Lombardy, Savoy, and Provence, and was even joined by a body of English adventurers : he collected all the metal that could be found, and caused one hundred and fifty cannon to be cast. Under the influence of such an army the Count of Romont found it an easy matter to recover most of the places in the Pays de Vaud, which the Confederates had taken from him and the nobles in alliance with him. Charles moreover promised to put him in possession of the city of Berne: he also engaged to deliver Friburg to the duchess, and portioned out among his nobility all the valuable domains he was confident of wresting from the Confederates. These Confederates meanwhile held a diet at Lucern, on the fifteenth of the month, in which they made various necessary arrangements for their defence. One thousand foot, with some horse, were sent to Friburg, one thousand to Granson, and fifteen hundred to Morat,

Morat, under the conduct of Adrian de Buben-  
berg of Berne, a veteran knight and experien-  
ced commander. This town being the key to  
their country, the Berners amply supplied it  
with every means of defence. Buben-  
berg encouraged his men by pointing out to them the  
ample provision that had been made for their  
safety; but he strictly ordered every one of  
them if he should observe the least symptom of  
fear in another, to stab him without mercy or  
delay; and not to spare even him, should he  
give the least cause to suspect his firmness.

Duke Charles began his march with the main  
part of his army <sup>21</sup> on the twenty-seventh of  
May, and on the tenth of June arrived near  
Morat. On the following day he invested the  
town, and so effectually surrounded it, as to  
leave no outlet except on the side of the lake,  
where, having no vessels, he could not complete  
the blockade. Buben-  
berg, no ways dismayed  
at the approach of so formidable a host, repelled  
the first assailants, and took some prisoners,  
from whom he collected the intentions of the  
duke. These he communicated to the council  
at Berne, and desired that no hasty steps should  
be taken for his relief, since he was certain that  
he could prolong the siege till all the Confede-

<sup>21</sup> Phil. de Comines says, that this army consisted of only  
twenty-three thousand effective men, besides cannoneers.

CHAP. rates were met, and a sufficient force had assembled  
III. to insure a victory. Berne sent immediately between five and six thousand men to secure the passes at Gumminen, and over the Sense; and by a general alarm called together the whole force of the canton.

The duke, in disposing his troops round Morat, had stationed the Count of Romont with eight thousand men on the north side, to guard the avenues from Berne and Arberg: Anthony, one of the bastards of Burgundy, with thirty thousand men, immediately surrounded the town, and extended his posts along the lake; whilst he himself, with the remainder of the army, occupied the heights on the left, where, on a prominent spot, he caused a wooden house to be erected, whence he could survey the whole of his array. The artillery soon began to play upon the town with great effect. On the sixth day of the siege the duke, in order to intimidate the garrison, ordered the whole army to parade round the town, with shouts, music, and martial pomp; and towards evening, the whole was made to approach the walls with scaling ladders, battle-axes, and all kinds of hostile weapons, and to attempt a general storm: but such was the reception they met with, that near one thousand of them fell on the spot; and the remainder, finding that no impression could be

be

be made, desisted from the vain enterprize. CHAP.  
III.  
 The duke next tried the effect of advantageous offers; but Bubenbergh answered, that Brie and Granson were still too fresh in the memory of his people to think of a capitulation. The garrison laboured with the greatest alacrity, repaired in the night what had been damaged or destroyed in the day, observed profound silence that the enemy might form no conjecture of their numbers, and such was their vigilance, that they did not even find it necessary to shut their gates; an appearance of defiance and confidence which not a little daunted the Burgundians.

The Confederates meanwhile met at Ulmiz, Battle of  
Morat.  
 on Saturday the twenty-second of June. The thousand men who had been sent to Friburg were recalled, and joined the army. Count Lewis of Oetingen, with four hundred horse, three hundred fusileers, and twelve cannon, came from Strasburg; and Count Oswald de Thierstein with two hundred Austrian horse, from Colmar, and the other towns of the lower league. The Count of Gruyeres brought a body of his hardy mountaineers, and lastly came also with three or four hundred horse, the ejected Duke of Lorraine,<sup>22</sup> to whom some writers

<sup>22</sup> Now also driven from the court of Lewis: 'Car,' says Comines, 'quand un grand homme a tout perdu le sien, il ennuye le plus souvent ceux qui le soutiennent.'

have

CHAP.  
III.

have erroneously ascribed the command of the whole army.<sup>23</sup> This whole army is reported to have consisted of thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse. It was now resolved in a council of war not to attack the Count of Romont, who was nearest at hand, but to march up immediately to the duke and give him battle. William Herter commanded in chief. The army was divided into three columns: the first, consisting of the men of Thun, Entlibuch, and those which had been called in from Friburg, led the van under the tried veteran John de Hallwyl; John Waldman of Zurich headed the main body, which followed close upon the leading column; and Caspar de Hertenstein of Lucern brought up the rear, which was ordered to watch every motion, and afford aid wherever it might be wanted. In this order the columns advanced along the heights, and having come within sight of the enemy's camp, the duke, infatuated by his evil stars, once more drew out of his strong intrenchments, and came to join battle in the open country. He formed his infantry into a large solid square, flanked by his cavalry, and covered in front by a thick hedge. Here the armies observed each other some time

<sup>23</sup> Even the accurate authors of *l'Art de verifier les Dates* have committed this error; René appears, according to the Swiss historians, to have served as a volunteer.

in

in a heavy rain, neither of them finding an advantageous opportunity for venturing an attack: at length, the day being nearly spent, and the duke conceiving that no action could then take place, ordered his troops to withdraw to their stations in the camp. The Confederates deemed this a favourable moment, and Hallwyl addressing his men, ‘Behold,’ said he, ‘the  
‘proud Burgundians, who come to tear from  
‘us our wives and children, and to seize all our  
‘property; see how they shun our encounter:  
‘remember the days of Brie and Granson, and  
‘know that there is no salvation but in victory:  
‘think on the day of Laupen, and you will be  
‘confident that a small number of brave men  
‘may easily defeat a numerous host of rapacious  
‘enemies. Kneel down, bold warriors, and pray  
‘to God to favour your just cause: with his  
‘aid and your tried valour, we shall surely be  
‘invincible.’ During their devotion, the clouds opened and a gleam of sunshine appeared. Hallwyl started from his knees: ‘Our prayer is  
‘heard,’ he cried, ‘the sun shines forth to witness our heroic deeds.’ None have attempted to describe, for none probably could express, the ardour and impetuosity with which this selected band rushed upon the enemy. The quick hedge vanished in an instant, as if torn up by a sudden blast of wind. The duke had pointed eight culverines

CHAP. verines at them; but their fire had no effect :  
 III. the Confederates flew up to them, exclaiming,  
 ‘ Here Brie, here Granson ;’<sup>24</sup> seized them, and turned them upon the enemy. They then pushed forward, and attacked the duke’s body guards and the English auxiliaries. Here they received a check, but Waldman coming up with a part of the main body, all gave way : most of the guards and the English were slain, and among the latter, also their adventurous commander.<sup>25</sup>

Hertenstein, who led the rear, observing that his assistance would not be wanted in the main action, made a circuitous and hasty march along the heights towards Avenche, and having reached about the midway between Morat and that town, descended towards the borders of the lake. Bubenbergh, who attentively watched every movement, and instantly availed himself of every favourable incident, sallied forth at this critical moment with six hundred men, and proceeded along the lake. All the Burgundians who had not already fled were now hem-

<sup>24</sup> *Granson* was the rallying word of the Confederates.

<sup>25</sup> Lauffer calls him Duke of Somerset ; but as there appears to have been no duke of that title from Edmund Beaufort, killed at the battle of Tewksbury in 1471, to the creation of Edmund, the third son to Henry the Seventh, this appellation must be erroneous.

med

med in on every side. Many thousands of those who remained, seeing destruction all around them, rushed into the lake, and only one of these is said to have escaped, his horse having borne him to the opposite shore. The men of Morat came out in boats, and destroyed like game all those who kept themselves afloat. The Count of Romont, seeing the fatal event of the day, made a hasty retreat; but fell in with the horse from the Rhenish cities, who cut many of his men to pieces, and seized his baggage. The Confederates, after having pursued the fugitives to near Avenche, returned to the camp, where, though not in such profusion as at Granson, they yet found abundance of booty. Here they thanked God, and tarried three days; after which the greater part of them returned to their homes.

The ill-fated duke, who, after having been stripped of his treasures at Granson, had now also lost the flower of his army, fled towards the Pays de Vaud. On the day after the battle he took some refreshment at Morges,<sup>26</sup> and at night arrived at Gex, where he was hospitably entertained three days by the Duchess Jolantha. Mistrusting however her sincerity, he hastily withdrew into Burgundy, where he shut

<sup>26</sup> Fourteen leagues from the field of battle.

himself



CHAP.  
III.

himself up in the castle of Riviere near Salins, and remained some weeks absorbed in a deep melancholy, bordering upon despair. The Swiss historians have recorded that twenty-two thousand and sixty-five bodies were buried round the walls of Morat, of whom only two hundred and fifty were Confederates.<sup>27</sup> Including therefore those who perished in the lake, the loss of the duke could not be much less than thirty thousand. The charnel-house near Morat has, to our days, remained an incontrovertible monument of the magnitude of the havock that was committed in this memorable action. The modest and elegant inscription that was placed on this building, though it could not procure the admiration and forbearance of the boasted restorers of liberty who here lately destroyed one of its proudest trophies, will yet be ever remembered by all who shall commemorate the glorious events of this day.<sup>28</sup>

The conduct of the Princes of Savoy had

<sup>27</sup> The accounts of the number of dead differ greatly. Phil. de Comines makes them amount to only eight thousand.

<sup>28</sup> Deo Opt. Max.

Caroli inclyti et fortissimi Ducis Burgundiæ,

Exercitus Muratum obsidens

Ab Helvetiis cæsus

Hoc sui Monumentum reliquit.

M CCCC LXXVII.

throughout

throughout this war been so hostile towards the Confederates, that the latter resolved now to take vengeance by seizing on the whole of the Pays de Vaud. Twelve thousand of the conquerors at Morat engaged in this expedition. No town or castle on their way offered the least resistance; and when they arrived before Lausanne, they received deputies from all the other municipalities, even from Geneva and Savoy, offering terms of submission. Lewis the Eleventh however interceded in behalf of his sister, who, by siding with Duke Charles, had by no means counteracted his deep designs; and a congress was agreed upon for an amicable termination of this contest. This congress met at Friburg on the nineteenth of July, and arbitrators were here appointed, who decreed that the Pays de Vaud should remain in the hands of the Confederates, until Savoy should have paid them fifty thousand florins; that Morat, Cudrefin, and Granson should, even after this payment, not be restored, but be for ever appropriated to Berne and Friburg; that Geneva should forthwith discharge the twenty-six thousand florins it had on a former occasion engaged to pay to the Confederates; and lastly, that Savoy should indemnify Friburg for the damages it had occasioned to that city, by an immediate payment of twenty-five thousand six hundred florins.

This

## CHAP.

## III.

This congress was attended by most of the neighbouring princes, either personally or by their representatives. The Duke of Lorraine came in person, and availed himself of the opportunity to solicit and conjure the Confederates not to desist from their victorious war with Burgundy, until they had reinstated him in his dukedom, urging the necessity of reducing the power of Charles in order to render him inoffensive. The Confederates for various reasons, among which the severity of the season was not the least cogent, at first declined taking any public part in the expedition he recommended; but at length, prompted perhaps by the persuasions of the Admiral of France who attended in behalf of his master, they consented that, if no further attack were made upon them, they would allow Duke René to raise in their country as many volunteers as might be willing to engage in his cause. Lewis at the same time, pretending that he wished to strengthen the ties of friendship that subsisted between him and the Confederates, and to behold and converse with the heroes who had immortalized their names at Granson and Morat, requested that they might be sent to him on an embassy. Most of them, with the brave Bubenbergh at their head, were accordingly deputed. The king received them at Tours with the greatest marks of honour;

nour ; he enquired of them all the particulars of the victories they had achieved, which he well knew they were not unwilling to relate ; he caressed and extolled them ; and dismissed them with splendid donatives to themselves, and ample subsidies to their countrymen.

CHAP.  
III.

Charles was now suddenly roused from his gloomy apathy by the news, that Duke René was in full march with a powerful army, in which he numbered eight thousand Confederates, to repossess himself of his hereditary dominions, and that he was actually besieging Nancy. Although unaided by the states of Burgundy, he yet found means to raise a considerable force, part of which he drew even from the further extremity of the kingdom of Naples, and once more appeared in the field. The garrison of Nancy however, being unapprized of any approaching relief, and a body of three hundred English, who made a part of it, having lost their leader,<sup>29</sup> and all confidence in the surviving commanders, surrendered on the seventh of October ; and the citizens with great joy and congratulation received their former and legitimate sovereign. Charles meanwhile advanced with hasty steps, but could not arrive sooner than the twenty-second, when he

<sup>29</sup> His name is said to have been Cohin or Calopin.

pitched

CHAP.  
III.

pitched his camp before the city, into which René had thrown a sufficient garrison, having himself repaired to the frontiers of Swisserland, to reinforce his army with fresh levies from that country.

1477. In the first days of the following year he returned with a body of upwards of fifteen thousand men, and resolved to attempt the deliverance of Nancy. Charles was advised to desist voluntarily from the siege, and to wait for the return of spring; but his own impetuous temper, and the insidious counsels of the Condottiere de Campobasso,<sup>30</sup> who commanded the Neapolitans in his army, induced him to reject this salutary advice, and on the morning of the fifth of January (the last day of his eventful life) he marched his army, perishing with cold and hunger, to meet the approaching enemy. He took post about two miles from Nancy, in a hollow near a stream, and placed thirty cannon

Battle of  
Nancy.

<sup>30</sup> Du Fresnoy, the Commentator of Phil. de Comines, informs us that the real name of this false traitor was Nicholas Count de Montfort, of a noble family in the kingdom of Naples, from whence he had been banished for having espoused the party of the Princes of Anjou. Duke Charles had early retained him in his service, as through his means he obtained recruits from Italy; but the count appears to have always had a secret understanding with Lewis. The name of Campobasso he derived from an estate in Naples, once his property.

to

to defend the only pass through which an attack might be apprehended. His infantry stood in close array, covered at each wing by the cavalry, commanded on the right by the perfidious Campobasso,<sup>31</sup> and on the left by Josse de Lallain. Two Swiss adventurers, who on account of some misdemeanor had been banished their country, and were now serving in the army of Charles, went over, and offered, on condition of being restored to their native privileges, not only to impart to their countrymen the order of battle of the duke, but also to conduct them, along secret paths, to the most vulnerable part of his array. This offer, which at Morgarten would probably have been rejected, was now readily accepted : a large body of Duke René's army was led round the fortified pass, through the half-frozen stream ; and, dividing into two columns, the one commanded by the duke, and the other by the brave William Herter, fell unawares upon the flank and rear of the Burgundians. No sooner did these hear the sound of the Swiss bugle horn, and perceive the intention to surround them, but they crowded still closer, and

CHAP.  
III.

<sup>31</sup> Phil. de Comines intimates that Campobasso went over before the action, but that the Confederates would not receive him, alleging that they cared not to have traitors among them. It has already been suggested that Philip's authority is not always to be relied on.

turned

CHAP. turned their cannon towards the approaching  
III. enemy.

They soon found however that it was impossible for them to use their artillery without evident danger to themselves. The Confederates began the attack with their usual impetuosity, and made a deep impression on the disordered ranks. Charles sent to Lalain to hasten to their relief; but his men seeing the carnage that already overspread the field, betook themselves to flight, and dispersed among the mountains. The duke upon this resolved to engage in person. He rushed among the combatants with the fury of a lion, and slew many with his own hand; but most of his people, especially the cavalry, having now forsaken him, and seeing himself entirely abandoned, he determined to consult his own safety, and rode full speed towards the road that leads to Metz. Being hard pressed by his pursuers, he attempted to leap over a ditch; but his weary horse being unable to clear it, they both fell into the trench, and here Charles met his fate from hands unconscious of the importance of the life they were abridging. After having been some time missing, his body was found among other dead in the ditch, and conveyed to Nancy. His head is said to have been cloven asunder, and he had two other wounds, each of which was mortal. He was interred with solemn pomp at Nancy; but

but seventy-three years after, his remains were transferred to Bruges, to be deposited in the same tomb with those of his daughter Mary. Most of the Burgundian nobility, who had not fallen at Granson or Morat, were here either killed or taken; and a third Burgundian camp became the prey of the victorious enemy.

CHAP.  
III.

No sooner was the death of Charles publicly known, but all the neighbouring princes laid claim to different parts of his dominions; and his daughter Mary, then at Ghent, saw herself exposed both to the intrigues of these ungenerous claimants, and the factious spirit of the people among whom she lived; the latter even proceeding so far as to cause her faithful servants, the Chancellor Hugonet and the Lord de Imbercourt, to be publicly beheaded, because they favoured the project of a marriage between her and the dauphin. Urged by her apprehensions, she at length accepted the hand of Maximilian, son to the Emperor Frederick, and by this union conveyed to the house of Austria the richest and most important inheritance that had ever yet fallen to its share.

The states of the county of Burgundy, contiguous to the Helvetic republic, thought it safest, in the present emergency, to throw themselves into the arms of the Confederates, and for this purpose sent to a diet at Lucern, to offer a sur-

VOL. II.

R

render



CHAP.  
III.

render almost on any terms: but the Confederates possessed still prudence and moderation enough to decline the alluring proposal, deeming the acquisition no less unprofitable than dangerous. They tendered however peace and their protection to that province, on condition of its paying them the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand florins. This sum the people, after the heavy losses they had sustained during the war, were utterly unable to raise: they therefore borrowed it from the French monarch; and in return voluntarily submitted to his government. Lewis had already taken possession of the dutchy of Burgundy, as a male fief of his crown; and thus, by his artifices and treachery, was a most important addition made to his dominions, the extent of which, before these accessions, had already rendered him sufficiently formidable to all his neighbours.

CHAP.

## CHAP. IV.

*The Suabian War.*

ONE hundred and seventy years had now elapsed since the Helvetic confederacy had sprung up in the field Rutli, during which period the nation presented a memorable example of firmness, intrepidity, justice, and moderation, and maintained an independence which at that time was peculiar to their country. Though involved in many wars, yet their contests being, by the most vigorous exertions, soon brought to a happy conclusion, the people experienced no permanent or considerable interruption to their domestic tranquillity; and confiding in their valour, and the equity of the cause they asserted, they felt a conscious security, which under an arbitrary government can never be experienced; despotic power, though dormant, exerting every instant a baneful influence, and exciting terrors which incessantly alarm even the guiltless, and poison every enjoyment.

The Burgundian war, much as it contributed to the fame of the Confederates, may yet be deemed the first approach towards, or rather

CHAP.  
IV.

the fatal source of, the corruption which gradually relaxed the fundamental principles, and ultimately subverted the system to which this nation had been long indebted for much glory, popularity, and happiness. The Helvetic body became now an important link in the chain of European powers; its alliance was courted with much solicitude and intrigue by the greatest potentates, in whose wars it was often unwarily induced to take an active part: its leaders accepted foreign subsidies in their collective capacities, and considerable pensions and gratuities as individuals. Their youth, enriched by spoil and estranged from habits of industry, became impatient of domestic tranquillity; and, in open defiance of the most rigid prohibitions of their superiors, went forth into foreign service, mostly in countries eminently polished and corrupted, where they who preserved any remains of their simple manners became objects of ridicule,<sup>1</sup> but most of them gradually adopted the follies and vices which they saw not only tolerated, but even countenanced. With such depraved morals many returned occasionally to their native homes, and displayed examples of

<sup>1</sup> In France particularly, every instance of rustic simplicity or uncouthness was regularly ascribed to a Swiss; and the dulness of this people had even become universally proverbial.

wantonness

wantonness and folly which, though long resisted by a sober-minded people, could not however fail to make some impression, and have in fact gradually sapped the principles essential to the welfare of this country. Ambition and avarice invaded the breasts of many entrusted with the administration of public affairs; and partial emulation and dissensions have seldom, since this period, suffered them to co-operate with zeal and integrity in the measures best calculated for the support of the confederacy.

The candid observer, to whom the contemplation of their former virtues has no doubt endeared this people, may perhaps offer something to soften the harsh outlines of this gloomy picture. He may assert, and with some reason, that the bulk of the people was not materially tainted by this influx of depravity; that those especially who inhabited the more remote and mountainous regions, where small societies lived unconnected, and afforded few opportunities for luxury, were seldom visited by the wandering mercenaries, and therefore less exposed to the contagion of their perverted manners. He may likewise maintain, and it will probably be granted, that this people, as a nation, has ever, very few instances excepted, maintained its honour, its reputation for fidelity

CHAP.  
IV.

CHAP.  
IV.

lity to its engagements, and, to an eminent degree, its fame for intrepidity and martial spirit; that in fact, though surrounded by depravity, and incessantly urged by deceit, perfidy, and corrupt inducements, no nation has still preserved so great a share of primitive virtue and inflexible integrity.\* But the historian who is chiefly concerned with the actions and characters of the leaders of a people, will be obliged from this time forward to acknowledge that these were often influenced by motives independent of the public good, and that had they not been kept within bounds by the remains of integrity still prevailing among the people, they would often have committed acts of injustice worthy of the most consummate politician, He will be obliged to confess that the history of the confederacy henceforth acquires a different character; and that he must now unravel motives which before were scarcely known, even among the higher ranks of the people; and

\* Such is the sketch of the country lately delineated by Prof. Meiners of Gottingen, in his entertaining Letters on Switzerland, published in the year 1788. This intelligent, accurate, and impartial observer declares, that one of his principal motives for publishing his remarks was to vindicate the Swiss nation from the aspersions that had been unjustly thrown out against them. The facts he has alleged have not been controverted by any writer in whom the public places any degree of confidence.

which,

CHAP.  
IV.

which, by slow degrees, have ultimately brought on the dissolution of a polity founded on the purest maxims of wisdom and equity. The political maxim (if a true one) that the downfall of a nation is seldom to be ascribed to the impression of external force, but that its ruin may, in most instances, be traced up to the influence of internal vices, is no where more strongly exemplified than in the history of this country: and though the French rulers may indeed boast of their perfidious practices, they must not however pretend to a superiority of valour in subduing this unoffending people. Should the malevolent spirit of Lewis the Eleventh be permitted to look on earth, and view the calamities brought on this now helpless nation, chiefly in consequence of its fatal intercourse with France, he would no doubt enjoy another infernal triumph, and exclaim with malicious exultation, "I have brought on this evil."

The first symptoms of licentiousness and in-  
subordination appeared not many weeks after  
the victory of Nancy, when upwards of seven  
hundred young adventurers assembled at Zug,  
assumed the name of the *Mad Society*, and took  
upon them, in the first instance, to compel the  
immediate discharge of the sum which Geneva  
was bound by treaty to pay to the cantons, and

Previous  
occurrences.The Mad  
Society.  
1477.

CHAP.  
IV.

which they alleged had been delayed through the corrupt connivance of the chief men of Berne and Friburg. Regardless of the admonitions and censures of their magistrates, they advanced to Berne, obtained a free passage through that city, and proceeded to Friburg, where they were met by two thousand of their errattick companions. Geneva took the alarm, instantly sent to offer terms to this lawless multitude, and at length prevailed on them to desist from their audacious enterprize, by giving hostages for the punctual payment of the stipulated contribution, and distributing two florins to each of the rovers for the expences incurred by them in this expedition. Many of them soon after, in spite of the strict prohibitions of the magistrates, enlisted in foreign services; and of these several fell victims to intemperance in the most remote parts of Italy: but the greater number, having dissipated the ample share of booty they had obtained in the war, betook themselves to depredations in their own country; insomuch that, the government having taken vigorous measures to restrain the evil, no less than fifteen hundred robbers were, within the space of three months, publicly executed in different parts of the country. Prompted by this and other equally alarming instances of the inefficacy of the existing ordinances towards

wards restraining the unruly spirit of the victorious and lawless bands, now spread throughout the country, the cantons of Berne, Zurich, and Lucern readily accepted the offer made them by the cities of Friburg and Soleure, to enter into a closer compact for their mutual defence against all disturbers of the public peace. Schwitz, Uri, and Underwalden instantly took umbrage at this unexpected measure, and immediately felt the preponderancy this partial union would necessarily give to the municipal over the rural cantons in all future deliberations on public concerns. Accordingly when, three years after this compact, the two last mentioned cities requested to be added to the Confederacy, alleging that they had as amply contributed towards the late glorious victories as any other part of the nation, the rural cantons solemnly protested against the admission, and great dissensions must have ensued, had not a venerable individual interposed and tempered the discordant passions of the irritated litigants.

A diet was held at Stanz; but all parties being equally tenacious, the deputies were about to separate, without any prospect of accommodation, when a priest of the place hastened in the night to a neighbouring solitude, and summoned Nicholas de la Flue, a hermit whose sanctity was acknowledged and revered by the whole country,

CHAP.  
IV.

1478.

1481.



CHAP.  
IV.

country, to repair to the diet and conciliate the jarring dispositions of the stubborn delegates. He came, and the diet on his account vouchsafed another meeting. At his appearance they were all struck with awe, and rose from their seats. He uncovered his hoary head, and said : ‘ My friends, I come from a deep solitude : I am a stranger to the ways of men ; but I serve the Lord. You, cities, must relinquish your separate league ; it is big with mischief. You, rural cantons, forget not the services that have been rendered you ; and reward Friburg and Soleure by freely admitting them into the Confederacy. I learn with sorrow that, instead of thanking God for the victories he has bestowed upon you, you are still contending for the division of the spoils. Let all territorial acquisitions be proportionally distributed among the cantons, and all moveables among the individuals according to the number supplied by each canton. Lastly, let me exhort you to join all your separate leagues into one great and intimate union, of which truth and friendship shall be the basis and firm support. I have nothing to add. God be with you ! ’ His voice was deemed the voice of Heaven. Friburg and Soleure were a few days after admitted the ninth and tenth cantons in the confederacy, on condition however that they should on no account

Friburg  
and Soleure  
admitted  
into the  
Confederacy.

count engage in a war, or form any alliances, without the consent of the eight ancient cantons; that in case of dissensions they should submit to the award of those cantons; and that if any contest should arise among the said ancient cantons, those cities should observe a strict neutrality.

CHAP.  
IV.

Before the deputies separated they drew up and sanctioned a covenant, which became a new fundamental law of the confederacy. It ratified all that had been enjoined by the priests' ordinance,<sup>3</sup> and the decree of Sempach:<sup>4</sup> all illicit assemblages were here prohibited: each canton was confirmed in its own peculiar constitution: 'all delinquents,' it was here further decreed, 'shall be punished by the magistrates of the place where the trespass has been committed: all acquisitions, contributions, or spoils, taken in war, shall be distributed, the territories proportionably among the eight ancient cantons, and the moveables in equal portions to each man who shall have served in the war.'

Covenant  
of Stanz.

Internal tranquillity being thus restored, the Confederates once more directed their attention to foreign concerns. In the month of September they obtained from Lewis the Eleventh a

Treaty  
with  
France.

<sup>3</sup> Ao. 1370. See Vol. I. p. 393.

<sup>4</sup> Ao. 1393. See p. 11. of this volume.

grant

## CHAP.

## IV.

grant of privileges for their countrymen serving in his army, which, as it has proved the basis of several subsequent capitulations,\* must be here briefly noticed. It stipulates : ‘ that every Confederate, then engaged, or who may thereafter enter into the service of France, and who shall marry and settle in the kingdom, shall be authorized to purchase and hold all manner of real as well as personal property, and to bequeath the same to his wife and children, without any hindrance or defalcation ; that they shall be free from all alien duties, or restrictions, as also from all taillage, aids, imposts, or contributions, either then or thereafter to be levied, for the maintenance of troops, or any other purpose whatever ; and lastly, that they be exempted from watch and ward in all parts of the kingdom.’ Lewis was lavish in promises and engagements, but not equally punctual in the performance of them. The subsidies he had assigned to the cantons were always considerably in arrear ; and in the course of the ensuing year, a formal deputation was sent by five of the cantons, to solicit the sums due on this account : they however returned without having completed the object of their mission ; nor was it till two years after that Charles the Eighth, the son and successor

1482.

\* Vid. Preface, p. xxxiv. note 21..

of

of Lewis, on renewing the league with some additional clauses in favour of the Confederates, ordered these claims to be satisfied.

CHAP.  
IV.

1484

A tragical incident, which happened soon after at Zurich, while it afforded a memorable instance of the instability of human affairs, might also have served as an early caution against the pernicious tendency of the foreign connections which began now to prevail, and the fatal consequences of a people interfering in the administration of justice. John Waldman, whom we have seen at the head of the main body of the confederate army at Morat,<sup>b</sup> was a native of a small village near Zug, and came in his early youth to Zurich, where, being wholly destitute, he engaged to learn the trade of a tanner. The vigour of his mind, as well as the comeliness of his person, however, soon raised him from this lowly condition, and enabled him to distinguish himself in a military career, in the services both of his country and of foreign princes. He was knighted at the battle of Morat, and since that had risen gradually at Zurich even to the high station of burgomaster. His influence throughout the confederacy became so great, that all foreign kings, princes, and states, who had any object to pursue with the cantons, had recourse to him; and according to the practice

Waldman's  
catastrophe.

<sup>b</sup> See page 238 of this volume.

tice

CHAP.  
IV.

tice at that time prevalent, secured his interest, and that of his subordinate agents, by ample pensions and gratuities. This unexpected rise, and the support he experienced from abroad, soon produced the effects which so uncommon an aggrandizement seldom fails to operate; great arrogance and pertinacity, and an haughty deportment in the aspiring magistrate; and much envy and malevolence on the part of the ancient families, who bore with impatience the supremacy of one whom they had formerly seen in one of the lowest stations.

1489. Pretences were not long wanting for giving a full scope to the adverse passions which the fortunate burgomaster had excited. The senate of Zurich, alarmed at the progress luxury had evidently made since the influx of riches brought from the Burgundian war, had issued various sumptuary decrees, which the more distinguished citizens, and especially their wives and daughters, the clergy whose morals had yielded to the contagion of the times, and the profligate of all classes, thought oppressive and derogatory. To these were soon after added other regulations concerning the monopoly of salt, the right of hewing timber, and even a prohibition to keep dogs in the farms because they had in some instances injured the vineyards and molested the game; all which alarmed the lower

lower classes, and excited them against the burgomaster, to whom all these innovations were gratuitously ascribed. The peasants were the first who openly resisted the execution of the decrees; and when, through the interposition of some of the most discreet among the magistrates, they were nearly pacified, Waldman incautiously revived their indignation, by declaring to them that, being all vassals, or rather predial slaves, purchased by the city, they had no right to arraign the orders of the magistrates, or any ways to impede their execution. Secure in the prevalency and firmness of his power, he repaired with some friends to Baden, to partake of the amusements of that gay city; and there, in his unguarded moments, held a language respecting the affairs of his canton, which even those best inclined in his favour knew not how to justify. His numerous enemies at Zurich did not fail to avail themselves of his absence, and of these indiscretions, to excite an odium against him, which all ranks were now well disposed to admit; and their success was such, that when Waldman, being apprized of the clamours raised against him, returned privately into the city, he found a defection which he was ill prepared to encounter. A general insurrection soon broke out among both the citizens and peasants, which neither the burgomaster,

CHAP.  
IV.

master, nor several deputies from the confederate states who had been sent on the occasion, knew how to allay.

On the first of April the tribes assembled, and Waldman repaired to each of them separately, and attempted to persuade them of his innocence, and of the necessity of restraining the unruly spirit of the peasantry. His enemies, perceiving that he was gaining ground, suddenly called together the senate, which his office obliged him to attend. Here the deliberations were soon interrupted by a riotous multitude, who demanded the persons of the burgomaster and of some of his adherents. These being delivered to them, the multitude proceeded to depose the senate, and to appoint a new magistracy, which, from its callous severity, was called the *Horny Senate*. Before this tribunal Waldman was charged with various plots against the state, and in particular with a design to surrender the city to the emperor; and though no proof could be adduced of these accusations, yet so much were people's minds prepossessed against him, that orders were given to extort a confession by the torments of the rack. These he firmly bore during three days, without acknowledging any guilt; but whilst his judges were deliberating concerning the sentence, a messenger came hastily, and reported that the emperor had crossed

crossed the Rhine, and was in full march towards the city. Waldman's doom was now pronounced : he was led out of the town, and publicly beheaded. He purposed to declare his innocence on the scaffold, but was prevented by the persuasion of his confessor, who it was since suspected had been gained over by his enemies. No sooner had his head been struck off, but the magistrate who attended the execution declared to the assembled multitude, that they need be under no apprehension concerning the imperial forces, there being no truth in the report of an invasion. Many saw now through the malicious artifices which had impelled this distinguished character to his final destruction ; and several of his enemies soon after expiated their treachery by capital punishments.

The differences that had arisen between Charles the Eighth and Maximilian King of the Romans, on account of Anne heiress of Brittany, who had been promised in marriage to the latter, but was partly by artifice and partly by compulsion obtained by the former, gave rise to numerous and very urgent solicitations on the part of both the sovereigns, for an intimate union with the Confederates. On this occasion was first perceived an uniform and obstinate variance between the municipal and rural cantons ; the former, who perhaps had not been sufficiently

Intrigues of  
France.

1491.



CHAP.  
IV.

ciently or punctually subsidised by the French monarch, shewed a marked predilection in favour of Maximilian, while the latter, ever jealous and apprehensive of the encroachments of Austria, to which their local situation particularly exposed them, were at all times willing to favour the interests of France. Both parties however, with a degree of moderation and prudence that could hardly have been expected in their present contentious disposition, refused to grant auxiliaries or levies to either monarch, but offered their mediation towards an amicable accommodation. This was accepted, and a treaty was concluded at Senlis, on the twenty-third of May, by which Charles surrendered to Austria the whole of the county of Burgundy, together with the Artois and Charolois.

1493.

The circumstance which had induced Charles to be so compliant in the conclusion of this treaty, was the expedition he was then meditating for the conquest of Naples. This kingdom he claimed by virtue of a will which Charles, the last titular king of that country of the house of Anjou, had made in favour of his father Lewis the Eleventh, to the detriment of René Duke of Lorrain, the lawful heir in right of his mother Jolantha, the daughter of René, uncle to the testator. Naples was then in the possession of Ferdinand of Aragon, who was favoured

voured by that profligate pontiff Alexander the Sixth, and the city of Florence. Lewis sur-named the Moor, of the house of Sforza, who at this time administered the dutchy of Milan in the name of John Galeazzo his nephew, promoted the interest of the French king, from whom he hoped to derive security in the project he had formed of usurping the dominions of his helpless nephew. Lewis was in circumstances of peculiar perplexity and hazard. On the one hand, Lewis Duke of Orleans<sup>6</sup> had a manifest claim to the dutchy of Milan, in right of his grandmother Valentina, the legitimate representative of the house of Visconti, from whom the Sforza's had wrested that dukedom; and on the other, his nephew had espoused Isabella, the daughter of Alphonsus of Aragon King of Naples, who, being a princess of a high and enterprising spirit, was incessantly urging her relations to be the means of investing her consort in the government which his age now entitled him to assume. In this dilemma the artful Lewis, considering the French as the least dangerous party, gave every encouragement to Charles to undertake the Italian expedition, and allowed him to make Genoa, then dependent on Milan, the place of rendezvous for

<sup>6</sup> Afterwards Lewis the Twelfth.

CHAP.  
IV.

1494.

the forces he purposed to collect. To this place numbers of the Confederates flocked from all parts, and bid defiance to the repeated orders sent them by their magistrates to return to their homes. A diet even sent a formal deputation to demand the dismissal of these contumacious vagrants; but all that Caspar de Stein and his joint delegates could obtain, was a declaration of the French generals, D'Urfé the king's master of the horse, and Antonine de Besse the bailiff of Dijon, that they had done their utmost towards obtaining the discharge of their countrymen; but that the troops being widely scattered along the coast, it was impossible to collect the Confederates dispersed among them; and that moreover the great confidence the king reposed in them would render it highly improper, if not dangerous, for him to relinquish so essential a part of the forces he had destined for his intended expedition. Charles wrote soon after to the cantons to extenuate the offence, and conciliate their indulgence in favour of the transgressors. The magistrates, having no remedy left, agreed at length, that six thousand of their countrymen should be allowed to remain in the French army. This transaction however made so unfavourable an impression upon most of the confederate states, that Berne in particular could never after, during

ing the life of Charles, be brought to a cordial agreement with France.

CHAP.  
IV.

Lewis the Moor succeeded next year in his design upon the dutchy of Milan; his nephew having died, as is generally believed, from the effect of poison, leaving an infant son, whose cause nobody espoused. He soon after, being freed from his apprehensions respecting the Princes of Aragon, deserted the cause of Charles, and joined the great alliance between the Emperor, the Pope, Spain, Venice, and Florence, which soon compelled the French king to evacuate the kingdom of Naples, after having conquered it in a few months. The conduct of the Swiss auxiliaries at the battle of Fornovo, near Parma, where Charles had been assailed and nearly cut off by the allies,<sup>7</sup> and the formidable number and appearance of the fresh levies that were soon after obtained from the cantons, are celebrated by an eye witness in terms that reflect the highest honour on the prowess and discipline of these undaunted warriors.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> 'A Fornoue le roy avoit mis tout son effort en son avant garde, où pouvoit avoir trois cent cinquante hommes d'armes, et trois milles Suisses, qui estoient l'espérance de l'ost.' Phil. de Comines, l. viii. c. 11.

<sup>8</sup> 'Le nombre des Suisses étoit bien vingt-deux milles. Tant de beaux hommes y avoit, que je ne vis jamais si belle compagnie, et me sembloit impossible de les avoir sceu descomfire.' Ibid. cap. 17.

Maximilian

CHAP.  
IV.

1495.

Maximilian having now succeeded to the empire, and likewise to the dominions of his cousin Sigismund, who died without issue, convoked a diet at Worms, which was attended by William de Diesbach, as deputy from Berne. The Confederates were here, and likewise at some provincial diets of their own, called upon, as members of the empire, to supply a body of troops to escort Maximilian on his intended progress to Rome, and likewise to join in a grand league that had been formed for the defence of the Germanic body.<sup>9</sup> These proposals and demands caused many discussions and some animosities. At length however it was agreed that, whatever contest might break out among its neighbours, the Helvetic body should pre-

<sup>9</sup> This league had been set on foot at Augsburg, in the year 1488, and as it consisted chiefly of the princes, prelates, and cities of the upper part of Germany, was often called the *Swabian League*; and also, because each member bore on his shield the cross, or badge, of St. George, it was as often distinguished by the appellation of the fraternity of *St. George's Shield*. The ostensible motive of this association was the defence of the country against lawless violence and depredations; but the emperor saw moreover in it the additional advantage of a counterpoise to the independent spirit of the Helvetic confederacy. The Swiss viewed it in the same light, and ever considered it with a jealous eye, and observed its motions with great caution and mistrust.

serve

serve a strict neutrality; and Berne in particular decreed severe penalties against foreign recruiting emissaries. Not only perfect unanimity was now restored, but a cordial union soon after took place against a common enemy, the last with whom the Confederates have had to contend for their absolute independence.

CHAP.  
IV.

The emperor had, at the diet at Worms, established a court which, under the name of the Imperial Chamber, was to take cognizance of all civil causes relating to the empire. The same diet also ordained certain contributions for the maintenance of this court; and likewise an extraordinary levy of one per cent. upon the income of all the subjects of the empire, towards the expences of a war against the Turks. Maximilian caused these ordinances to be notified to the Confederates assembled at a diet at Zurich, enjoining their obedience as members of the empire: and on this occasion he also renewed his application for a supply of men, and for their accession to the great Germanic league; adding a request that they would join the Duke of Milan as an imperial feudatory in his contests against France,<sup>10</sup> and agree to a solemn renewal of the hereditary

Origin of  
the Suabian  
War.

1496.

<sup>10</sup> The crafty Lewis Moro had obtained the investiture of Milan as an imperial fief, by which means he flattered himself to have annulled the titles both of his great nephew, and of the Duke of Orleans.

union

CHAP.  
IV.

union, to which he laid claim as representative of the late Duke Sigismund. These proposals, which the Confederates would not consider as injunctions, brought on some warm debates at several of their diets; nor could perfect unanimity be ultimately obtained, some of the cantons<sup>11</sup> declaring that their subsisting alliance with France precluded them from entering into any engagement that might be detrimental to that crown, while others<sup>12</sup> agreed to an alliance with the Duke of Milan, but declined all the other points demanded of them.

The emperor and his advisers, highly incensed at these refusals, resolved now to avail themselves of every opportunity which might afford them the means of disturbing the peace of this refractory people. The pope was easily prevailed upon to excommunicate all those of the Confederates who inclined in favour of France: the imperial chamber was directed to extend the utmost rigor of its jurisdiction over all legal proceedings in the cantons: the Abbot of St. Gallen was cited before an imperial diet: the city of St. Gallen, the Counts of Werden-

<sup>11</sup> Zurich, Lucern, Friburg, Soleure, Zug, Glaris, and a part of Underwalden.

<sup>12</sup> Berne, Uri, Schwitz, and the other part of Underwalden.

berg,

berg, Sargans,<sup>13</sup> and other nobles, co-burghers of different cantons, were declared under the ban of the empire: contributions were raised by coercive means; and it appeared as if the monarch, or rather his ministers and delegates (for Maximilian himself seems in general to have preferred moderate and temporizing measures) had so totally forgotten the transactions of the beginning of the preceding century, as to deem such measures not only secure, but even justifiable. The Confederates applied for redress, but were successively referred to different diets, where they obtained some trivial palliatives, but by no means a satisfactory decision. Lewis the Twelfth having meanwhile succeeded to the crown of France, and assumed the title of Duke of Milan, the emperor, regardless of the impression it might make upon the minds of the people, demanded of the Confederates six thousand men to conduct him to his county of Burgundy; and strictly enjoined them not to listen to any request on the part of the French monarch, for aid towards the conquest he meditated in Lombardy. To the former demand he received a peremptory refusal, unless the griev-

1498.

<sup>13</sup> This nobleman not being able to protect his county of Sargans against the insults of the Austrians, had, in the year 1482, sold it to the seven ancient cantons. Berne was, in 1712, admitted into its co-regency.

ances



CHAP.  
IV.

ances complained of should be completely remedied: and as to the latter mandate, though most of the cantons, and Berne in particular, gave the most positive orders against their people engaging in the service of France, they could not effectually prevent great numbers, who were eagerly bent on feats of arms, from resorting to the standards under which they had long served with profit and reputation. Berne on all occasions shewed an anxious solicitude to maintain peace; and to this, that no umbrage might be given, it sacrificed not only a fair opportunity that offered of purchasing at a cheap rate the city of Neuchattel, but also every clause in its treaty with Milan that might have caused suspicion to its confederate states.

A trivial incident hastened the rupture, which men of common sagacity saw rapidly advancing. Among repeated insults, reciprocally offered by individuals on or near the frontiers, especially on the side of the Tyrol, the Count of Werdenberg made a rash attempt to seize the person and family of one of the counsellors of the regency of Inspruck, who was at that time at Pfeffers for the benefit of the mineral waters of that place. His purpose was defeated by the abbot of that monastery, who thereby incurred the resentment of the count, and was by him compelled to quit his abbey. The progress of  
this


this feud soon involved the superior orders; and the Grison leagues in particular, two of which<sup>14</sup> had the preceding year entered into an alliance with the seven ancient cantons for mutual defence and security, found themselves suddenly attacked, at a time when the regency of Inspruck had agreed to a congress to be held at Feldkirk, in order to accommodate, as they pretended, all differences between the two countries. The Tyrolese made a sudden inroad into a valley of the Grison country bordering on the county of Bormio, which derives its name from the abbey of Munster, to the advocacy of which they alleged that their sovereign had a claim. They were however immediately repulsed with the loss of eighteen men, the first who fell in this disastrous war, which in the space of nine months produced eight considerable actions, many skirmishes, and much bloodshed and devastation. The Tyrolese immediately called upon the Suabian league, then assembled at Constance, for its support; while the Grisons, and particularly the people of the abbey of Disentis, sent to their Swiss allies for the aid stipu-

CHAP.  
IV.

1499,

<sup>14</sup> The Grey League, and the league of the House of God. The terms of this alliance are to be found in Laufer, t. vi. p. 252. They do not differ materially from the other treaties between the several members of the Helvetic body.

lated

CHAP. IV.  lated by their league. Both parties armed, and the whole of the frontiers from Bormio to Basle were reciprocally put in the best posture of defence.

While negotiations were still carrying on for  
 Encounters the intended Congress at Feldkirk, a large body  
 of the Suabian allies took by surprise and  
 treachery the town of Mayenfeld, below Coire,  
 on the Rhine; placed in it a garrison of four  
 at Lucien- hundred men; and occupied the Luciensteig, a  
 steig, strong and important pass between Germany  
 and the Grisons. The Confederates instantly  
 assembled a sufficient force, attacked the Sua-  
 bians in the pass, killed upwards of four hun-  
 dred of them, and having on the following day  
 Triesen, gained another considerable advantage at Tri-  
 esen, drove the remainder of the enemy's forces  
 over the river Ill. Two days after they retook  
 Mayenfeld, led the garrison prisoners to Coire,  
 and publicly executed some of the traitors who  
 had surrendered the town to the Suabians. The  
 German allies upon this, being bent on revenge,  
 Hard, collected a considerable army at Hard, near Bre-  
 genz, on the lake of Constance. The Confe-  
 derates, being apprized of this numerous assem-  
 blage, advanced with hasty marches, and having  
 driven in the advanced posts, came in sight of  
 the camp which the Suabians had fortified with  
 strong intrenchments, and secured with abund-  
 ance

ance of artillery. The Swiss having, as customary, offered up their prayer to heaven on their knees, which, in like manner as at Granson, was mistaken by the enemy as a supplication for mercy, they rushed up to the batteries, and having passed them, soon came into close combat with, and made such an impression upon the main body, that the Suabian leaders, perceiving the impossibility of making an effectual stand against so furious an attack, ordered a retreat. This retreat however was soon converted into a general rout, in which many were driven into the lake, and suffocated in marshy swamps, where, as well as on the field of battle, upwards of five thousand of the enemy are reported to have perished. The loss of the Confederates was inconsiderable. They took five large pieces of cannon, many arms and accoutrements, several flags; and had the day not been too far advanced, would infallibly have obtained possession of Bregenz. They raised however a contribution in the vicinity, with which and their ample booty they returned to their farms and cottages.

Notwithstanding the late disaster at Hard, the Suabians and Imperialists did not refrain from repeated endeavours to molest the Confederates on the side of the Tyrol. They collected fresh troops, and occupied a post at Frastenz, *Frastenz,*

on

CHAP.  
IV.

on the river Ill, which, both from nature and the protection of double intrenchments, was deemed impregnable. Their numbers amounted to upwards of ten thousand, both horse and foot. Their project was, by no means to risk a general engagement, but to harass the enemy by constant inroads, and thus terrify them into submission. They in fact came over the Rhine on the same day that Babenberg triumphed at the Bruderholz,<sup>15</sup> spread among the villages of St. Gallen, Glaris, and even to the confines of Schwitz; and having ravaged the country, returned with ample spoils within their lines. This alarm and devastation instantly called together seven thousand Confederates, who without delay crossed the Rhine and offered battle to the rapacious foe. These however declined the challenge, and remained unmoved within their trenches. At length, impatient of further delay and inactivity, the Confederates came to the daring resolution of storming the lines. The Suabians, being apprized of this intention, made proper dispositions for defeating their purpose. They posted three hundred arquebusiers at the edge of a précipice, and in a sconce above them, fifteen hundred men at arms, most of them miners. These were directed to fall on the flank of the assailants in their approach to

<sup>15</sup> V. infra: p. 285.

the

the intrenchments. On the other hand, Henry CHAP.  
IV.  
Wolleb of Uri took the command of two thousand select men of Urseren and his own canton, and advanced from one of the flanks with a view to turn the mountain, while the main body, it was agreed, should proceed through a wood directly to the camp. Early on the twentieth of April began the march. The detachment of Wolleb climbed up the steep with so much difficulty, that in many places the men were obliged to draw each other up by their halberds. Having come in sight of the arquebusiers, they were received by a brisk discharge of fire-arms; but creeping on all fours till they had reached a proper distance, they rushed upon them with irresistible violence, and drove them back upon the miners, whom they likewise attacked on a sudden, and with equal ardour. Here the conflict became bloody and obstinate, and the event remained long doubtful till, the two first ranks of the enemy being hewn down, the remainder fled towards the intrenchments. These also, before they could reach the lines, fell in with the main body of the Confederates; and all but two hundred, who with much difficulty found means to secrete themselves in the thickest of the wood, fell easy victims to the wrath of the assailants. These having now reached the lines, the discharge

CHAP.  
IV.

charge of cannon and fire-arms upon them became terrific. They avoided its destructive effects by falling on their faces ; but, preparing immediately after for the attack, Wolleb, who with his detachment had now joined the army, called to them to let another discharge pass over them in their prostrate position, and then to advance with speed. They obeyed, but he continuing alone erect in order to give further directions, received a mortal wound. He gathered all his strength, made the necessary dispositions for the charge, and then expired, rejoicing at the victory he was now certain would be achieved by his countrymen. The Confederates, exasperated at the irreparable loss they had sustained, flew up to the breast-work before the enemy could prepare for another fire. Nothing could resist the furious blows they dealt out with their long spears, broad swords, and massy battle-axes; and the Suabians, unable to sustain so unexpected an assault, took to a hasty flight, many perishing in their speed down the head-long precipices, and still more in the river Ill, beyond which they had hoped to find security. Three thousand of the Suabians are said to have perished in the field, and thirteen hundred in the river. It is scarce credible, what the chronicles affirm, that this victory was gained with the loss of only thirteen men. Five flags, ten heavy

heavy cannon, and abundance of fire-arms and ammunition, fell into the hands of the victors ;  
 who after resting, as was customary with them, three days on the field of battle, returned each to his peaceful dwelling.

CHAP.  
IV.

This fourth discomfiture did not deter the Tyrolese from fresh attempts to wreak their vengeance on their detested neighbours. They again collected eight thousand men, and stationed them behind strong intrenchments on Mount Shlingenberg, near the confines of the Malsheide, Grisons. Hence they made an incursion into the Engadine, where, after spreading fire and desolation, they took three-and-thirty hostages for the payment of large contributions, and led them to the town of Meran, where they retained them in close confinement. The Grisons, bent on revenge, assembled, nine thousand in number, and came on the tenth of May at midnight to the foot of the mountain, where they divided into two columns, one of which marched round to take the enemy in the rear, while the other advanced in front. They jointly, and with their usual speed, ascended the mountain, cut off all the sentries and out-posts they met on their way, and having at day-break reached the camp, assailed it furiously on every side. The enemy during four hours made a fierce and stubborn defence ; but the column that at-



CHAP.

IV.

tacked in front having forced the intrenchment, a general rout took place, and they fled in all directions, but most of them towards a bridge at Glurens, on the Adige. The great numbers who attempted to crowd over this bridge broke it down, and some hundreds perished in the river. About one half of the Tyrolese fell in this bloody conflict. The Grisons had two hundred and twenty-five men killed, and about seven hundred wounded. They took the great banner of the Tyrol, six flags, eight large pieces of cannon, and four hundred arquebuses. The town of Glurens, seven villages, and among them that of Mals, from which this battle took its name,<sup>16</sup> were reduced to ashes. Many of the fugitives bent their course towards Meran, where they demanded the three-and-thirty Grison hostages, and barbarously cut them to pieces before the town. The Tyrol at this time was in such a deplorable state of desolation, that an imperial officer,<sup>17</sup> who was conducting a detachment through the country, among many scenes of misery and horror, saw two old women driving some hundreds of half-naked and emaciated children before them, who on arriving

<sup>16</sup> Malsheide, i. e. Mals-heath.

<sup>17</sup> Bilibaldus Pirckhaymerus of Nuremberg, who has written the history of this disastrous war. Bell. Suitens. in Opp. p. 82. Edit. 1610.

at

at a field less wasted than the remainder of the country, threw themselves down and browsed the grass like cattle. He was told that most of them were orphans, whose fathers had been killed, and mothers starved; and that they had for some time had no other nourishment: the old women added, that many of them perished daily; and that shortly they must all, the children as well as themselves, fall miserable victims to hunger and disease.

Among the numerous bodies of Germans which had been stationed along the confines of Swisserland, none was more formidable than that which had been collected at Constance. The cantons, in consequence of this powerful armament, lost no time in occupying and securing a strong pass in an adjacent wood called the Schwaderloch. The Germans having, in addition to their former numbers, received considerable reinforcements, ventured upon an attack, in which, having dispersed all the advanced posts of the Confederates, they proceeded to burn all the neighbouring villages; and resting secure in the protection of their artillery, which they had pointed at the intrenchments in the pass, spread widely over the open country, committing all manner of outrages and cruelty. The Confederates, who were apprized of the disorder that prevailed among the enemy's

Schwader-  
loch,

CHAP.  
IV.

troops, formed their array behind the wood, and by a circuitous march, in order to avoid the effect of their cannon, appeared on a sudden, and made considerable havock among the stragglers. These no sooner felt the impression of a regular force, than they hastened to their banners, and formed their ranks with all the speed the emergency would admit. Many of their chiefs dismounted, and arming themselves with spears, took their stations among the infantry, earnestly exhorting their men not to incur the disgrace of being vanquished by a number much inferior to their own. The conflict was severe, and long dubious. At length however the front ranks of the Germans gave way; after which no threats or admonitions could retain the succeeding troops in their stations. All fled in great disorder; some to the Rhine, which a few swam across, and others passed in boats; many into the lake, where most of them perished; and the greatest number to Constance, where, the general panic having preceded them, it was with difficulty that the citizens could be prevailed upon to open the gates for their admission. Fourteen hundred of their men fell on the field, and with them many chiefs of high birth and great renown. Fifteen large cannon and twelve culverins were the booty which the Confederates prized above all the

the rest, as they had often experienced the disadvantages of a want of artillery. CHAP.  
IV.

During this fierce and bloody warfare on the confines of Rætia and before Constance, various encounters took place on both sides of the Rhine, between the lake of Constance and Basle. A body of volunteers from Berne, about one thousand in number, under the command of Daniel de Babenberg, advanced towards the Sundgau, and met a band of four thousand Austrians, whom they routed, and drove into a wood called Bruderholz, near Basle, and took from them a great part of their arms and baggage, and several colours, on some of which was figured a scourge, with the words, ‘Drive, and it will go.’ Various parties also of the Confederates crossed the Rhine, and made inroads into the Hegau and Klegau;<sup>18</sup> took, pillaged, and burnt, many towns, castles, and villages, treating with peculiar severity many of the nobles who fell into their hands, whom they knew to have ever been their most implacable enemies. The town of Dungen having been compelled to surrender, the garrison, above one thousand in number, were stripped to their shirts, and with white wands in their hands,

<sup>18</sup> Districts of Suabia, bordering on the Rhine near Shaffhausen.

were

CHAP.  
IV.

were led through the Swiss camp, and then dismissed. At the castle of Blumenfeld they consented that the garrison and inhabitants might withdraw, each person taking away all he could carry. They excepted however from this indulgence the Baron de Roseneck, whom they considered as their bitterest foe ; but the baroness, imitating perhaps the example of the matrons of Weinsberg in the time of Conrad the Third, took her husband on her back, and carried him out of the castle. Her conjugal affection softened the hearts of the fierce warriors, who gave liberty to the baron, and restored all her effects to his virtuous consort. In the last of these incursions they found the Hegau so totally laid waste, and the wretched people driven to such desperation, that they were compelled to retreat with some dishonour ; and this is the only check they appear to have received during this obstinate war.

The chiefs of the Suabian league, perceiving that their joint and most strenuous efforts availed but little against the valour and enterprising spirit of the Confederates, sent to the emperor, who was then engaged in a contest with Count Egmont for the principality of Guelders, to come without delay to their assistance. Maximilian made a truce with the count, and hastened with six thousand men to Friburg in Brisgau ; where,

where, towards the end of April, he published a proclamation, setting forth in acrimonious language the rebellious conduct of the Confederates, enumerating the many illustrious families whom, as he pretended, they had stript of their patrimony, and solemnly calling upon the whole empire to assist him in reducing these stubborn peasants to obedience. This declaration was of no effect; the members of the empire not admitting altogether the truth of the allegations it contained, and considering the war as the peculiar concern of the emperor, which he had provoked without just cause or due deliberation. The Confederates were now ravaging the Klegau, and preparing to march up the eastern side of the lake of Constance, in order to join the Grisons on the side of the Tyrol, when they learnt that the emperor was assembling an army of twenty thousand men in the Sundgau, and threatened to invade the canton of Soleure. The banners of Berne and Friburg immediately returned to the frontiers that were thus menaced. Soleure had sent forces to occupy the strong post of Dornach; and these, on the fifth of May, were joined by two thousand four hundred Berners, together with a strong body from Friburg, and many volunteers from Lucern. The Count of Furstemberg, an imperial general of great renown, advanced with fourteen thousand

CHAP.  
IV.

and Dornach.

sand infantry and two thousand horse, among which were the formidable Gueldrian guards. Trusting to false reports, he believed that the main force of the Confederates was posted at the Schwaderloch, to observe the garrison of Constance which had now been considerably reinforced; and confident of perfect security by the superiority of their numbers, his troops became wholly regardless of order and discipline, their march bearing much more the appearance of a festive party, than of an hostile expedition. The Confederates, who viewed this disorderly assemblage from Dornach, Liechstatt, and other heights they occupied, had no doubt that an attack, such as they were accustomed to make, would infallibly prove successful. The enemy had formed three separate camps, which wholly invested the castle of Dornach. Nicholas Conrad, the Avoyer of Soleure, who commanded an advanced post, caused his men to wear the red cross of Burgundy, and led them on as a body of imperialists, against a detachment of the Germans, who were not undeceived till, by a furious discharge of fire-arms, and incessant and heavy blows of halberds and all sorts of hostile weapons, they found what an enemy they had to contend with. This corps fled with great precipitation, and joined the main army, whose grand division on the left

left found itself likewise compelled by a rigorous attack to fall back towards Arlesheim on the Birs. The whole of the imperial army was now drawn up in front of this river, and here it was attacked with the utmost impetuosity by the collected forces of the Confederates, consisting of about six thousand men. A most severe conflict ensued, which lasted, without intermission, for upwards of four hours. The Gueldrian guards had crossed the river, and had fallen upon the flanks of the Confederates, who besides were all greatly annoyed by the artillery of the enemy. At length the fate of the day was decided by the approach of a reinforcement of twelve hundred men of Lucern and Zug, which arrived at the decisive moment from Arlesheim. Their presence revived the courage and vigour of the Swiss, and their fierce attacks could no longer be sustained by the astonished foe. These, in endeavouring to gain the bridge over the Birs, were thrown into the utmost confusion, and their retreat soon became a general rout. The Swiss took possession of their camp; but night coming on, which proved uncommonly dark, they were prevented from pursuing them to any distance. The Confederates are reported to have lost three hundred men, and the Germans ten times that number: among the latter were the Count

of



CHAP.  
IV.

of Furstemberg their leader, and many nobles of high distinction. This signal victory was obtained on the twenty-second of July, and has, until their late defeats, been commemorated as the last battle which the Confederates have fought within their boundaries, for the defence of their freedom and independence. On the next day the army was joined by the troops of Uri, Schwitz, and Unterwalden, and advanced towards Basle; but meeting with no enemies in the field, it dispersed, and each banner returned to its own canton. The Swiss are, not without reason, reproached with having on this occasion (like Hannibal after the battle of Cannæ) omitted to avail themselves of the victory they had gained with so much glory.

An unsuccessful attempt, which the emperor had made a few days before Constance, to dislodge the Confederates from their strong post at the Schwaderloch,<sup>19</sup> had already so far dis-

<sup>19</sup> Prickhaymerus mentions a trifling incident, which however, as it is a characteristic of the nation, is not altogether unworthy of a place in this history. It was customary in these times, when men could not well be spared, to send women, and more frequently young girls, on messages. A young lass who had brought a letter from the camp at Schwaderloch to the emperor at Constance, was waiting in an outward court, among soldiers, for an answer, when one of them asked her, 'What are your men now doing in their camp?' She answered, 'They are preparing to

couraged him in the prosecution of this disastrous war, as not only to induce him to quit the army, but also to favour the negotiations that had been commenced under the mediation of French and Milanese plenipotentiaries,<sup>20</sup> who, with views diametrically opposite, were equally solicitous to procure peace to the Confederates, in hopes to obtain their aid in Italy; the French in order to subdue, and Duke Lewis to defend, the duchy of Milan. The defeat at Dornach not a little promoted this favourable disposition; and the Swiss, who demanded nothing but to be left at peace within their own boundaries, offered no obstacle to the progress of the paci-

‘to receive you.’ ‘How numerous are they?’ ‘Quite enough to drive you away.’ ‘Have they any thing to eat?’ ‘No doubt they have, since they are alive and hearty.’ Being further questioned about their numbers, she answered, ‘You might have counted them yourselves, when you last met them, had you not been in such haste to run away.’ One of them, meaning to terrify her, brandished his naked sword over her. The young heroine burst into a fit of laughter: ‘Here is a bold warrior,’ she cried, ‘who raises his sword against a child. I wish I could see thee engaged with one of my countrymen: he would soon match thee with his fist.’ De Bell. Suit. in Opp. p. 86.

<sup>20</sup> Tristan de Salazar Archbishop of Sens, Rigaud d’Oreille Governor of Chartres, and Antoine de Besse Bailiff of Dijon, on the part of France; and John Galeazzo Visconti, on the part of the Duke of Milan.

fication.

CHAP.  
IV.

Peace.

fication. A diet accordingly assembled the day after the battle of Dornach, at Zurich, to which another meeting succeeded soon after at Shaffhausen, and a third at Basle, which latter met on the twenty-fifth of August; and at which the representatives of all the belligerent and mediating parties were summoned, and actually appeared. The Confederates, who had been often baffled on sending their deputies to a congress, assembled at the same time a considerable army at Bruck. The ambassador of the Duke of Milan was here admitted as mediator. Much art and cunning was practised, and more attempts were made to over-reach the Confederates, than on any former occasion; the French plenipotentiaries in particular using all means they could devise to counteract the bias in favour of Milan, of which the Swiss gave manifest symptoms, deeming that state the least insincere and selfish of the two. At length however, on the twentieth of September, a treaty of peace was concluded, by which the Confederates maintained their immunity from the imperial chamber, and the full exemption from all taxes or contributions imposed by the emperor; and also acquired the criminal jurisdiction in the Thurgau, the civil and territorial rights in that province having long since been in their possession.

Thus ended this ruinous war, in which in  
less

less than nine months upwards of twenty thousand men lost their lives; and near two thousand towns, castles, and villages, were taken, pillaged, and reduced to ashes. Some contemporary writers<sup>21</sup> have called it the great war, and very erroneously ascribed the advantages chiefly to the Germans. The principal battles are allowed by all to have been decisive in favour of the Confederates, whose inroads into the Suabian circle are moreover admitted on all hands to have been in general successful; while the imperialists, except in an incursion they made into the Engadine, could never boast of having passed one night on the territories of the Confederates. The terms of peace moreover evidently prove which side had been the most successful in the war. The emperor and the Suabian league obtained none of the objects they had in view; while the Confederates retained all they contended for, their absolute independence from all foreign power, military, judicial, or financial; and in addition acquired a jurisdiction in the Thurgau, which, if left in other hands, might have afforded frequent opportunities for

<sup>21</sup> Nauclerus; Ulr. Mutius, &c. Conf. Guicciardini Hist. Ital. vol. i. p. 276. edit. 1788. They make the number of slain amount to thirty thousand. Of the almost incredible devastation of towns, &c. we have the cogent authority of Lauffer.

CHAP.  
IV.

contention. The absolute independence of the nation was indeed not acknowledged by all the powers of Europe, till a century and a half after this pacification;<sup>22</sup> but no attempt whatever has, from the peace of Basle to our days, been made by any state or potentate to molest the Confederates in the full enjoyment of their liberty, or to abridge them of any part of the paramount authority within their limits, which they uniformly claimed as their prescriptive right.

<sup>22</sup> A prognosticating passage of Baron Zurlauben, in his *Hist. Milit. des Suisses*, t. i. p 80, is too memorable to be here omitted. 'L'indépendance générale des cantons n'a été reconnue pour toujours qu'en 1648, au traité de Westphalie; et il est vraisemblable, qu'ils conserveront leur liberté tant que l'union régnera entr'eux, ou bien jusqu'à ce qu'une nation aussi considérable que celle des Romains s'élève de nouveau, et fasse la conquête de toute l'Europe.'—This was printed in the year 1751.

CHAP.

## CHAP. V.

*The Wars of Milan.*

**A**FTER the complete emancipation of the Helvetic and Rhætian tribes from all foreign dominion, and from the iron rod of their domestic tyrants, achieved without any external aid or interference, but solely by their own valour, firmness, and perseverance; and after they had yielded to the temptation of external alliances, public subsidies, private pensions, and the baneful allurements of foreign services; their history becomes so much blended with the events, projects, and intrigues, of the neighbouring, and even some distant states, that, to follow with any degree of accuracy the various and complicated incidents that henceforth compose their annals, would require a far wider scope than comes within the intended limits of this narrative. The war however, which soon after the pacification at Basle was carried on, at the instigation of their neighbours, chiefly by the Confederates, in various parts of Lombardy, was of too great a magnitude, and too intimately connected with their interior condition

CHAP.  
V.

and

CHAP. V. and polity, not to demand a more circumstantial detail than will be given of their subsequent exploits in distant parts; which, while they procured them abundance of laurels, did not however materially affect their domestic concerns. Nor must the impartial historian pass slightly over the principal occurrences of this period, since among them he will meet with the most signal defeat the Confederates had ever yet experienced; and, what is far more disgraceful, with the imputation of a breach of faith, of which the nation had till then been deemed incapable.

Conquest  
of Milan by  
the French.

Of the claims of the two competitors to the duchy of Milan, Lewis Sforza, surnamed the Moor, who was in actual possession, and Lewis the Twelfth King of France, the legal representative of the house of Visconti, from whom the Sforzas had half a century before wrested these dominions, a brief detail has been given in a preceding chapter.<sup>1</sup> King Lewis, who appears to have had no object more at heart than to add this important territory to his extensive dominions, had no sooner ascended the throne of France, than he took the necessary measures for asserting his title by force of arms. The Suiabian war, in which the emperor and the Con-

<sup>1</sup> See page 267 of this volume.

federates.

federates were now too deeply engaged to interfere in his favourite project, appeared to him a favourable conjuncture; and he moreover secured the connivance of the Confederates, by promises of considerable advantages, in case he should succeed in his enterprise.

CHAP.  
V.

He now sent a powerful army over the Alps, commanded by experienced generals, who in the month of August took possession of Milan and all its dependencies, and compelled Lewis Sforza to seek refuge in the Tyrol, under the protection of the emperor. The Marshal Trivulci, a native of Milan, and one of the generals of King Lewis, was left to govern this important acquisition; but the rooted prejudices the Milanese entertained against this haughty vicegerent, whom, as a Guelph, being most of them Ghibelins, they considered with horror; and yet more the disparity of manners and overbearing insolence of the French soldiery, left to secure their obedience, soon propagated discontents which, before the end of the year, broke out into open insurrection, and encouraged their ejected sovereign to return and attempt the recovery of his dukedom. He arrived in the next month of February, and with the aid of some stipendiary forces he brought with him, among which were many Swiss adventurers, but chiefly by the free suffrages of

1499.

1500.



CHAP.  
V.

the people, and amidst their joyful acclamations, he was soon reinstated in his dominions. The French monarch, however, who was bent on securing this conquest, lost no time in assembling fresh troops, and among these he now found means to enrol a great number of the Confederates, who, in defiance of the most rigid prohibitions of their government, flocked to his standards. This army, under the command of Lewis de la Tremouille, appeared early in the spring in the plains of Lombardy, and on the ninth of April was met at Novarra by the duke and a promiscuous assemblage of Burgundians, Lansquenets,<sup>2</sup> and Confederates, who were retained in his service merely by the prospect of ample rewards. These however, not receiving their allotted pay, soon renounced the service, and the latter in particular, seeing numbers of their countrymen in the French army, declared their intention of returning to their mountains. Before they withdrew, they made an offer to the duke to lead him away in the disguise of one of their privates. He accepted the proposal, but was betrayed by a man of Uri, and taken. The traitor was put

<sup>2</sup> A foot soldier was formerly called in Germany *Landsknecht*, from whence no doubt is derived the general appellation of the German infantry, so frequently retained in the armies of princes at this period.

into

into irons by his exasperated countrymen, and led to their canton, where he was sentenced to death and publicly beheaded. Should this atonement not altogether efface the stain of perfidy, the crime of a single individual will not however, in candid minds, taint the character of a whole nation. The ill-fated duke was conducted into France, where, in several state prisons, and finally in the castle of Loches in Touraine, he survived his last expulsion ten tedious years; during which period, and for two years after his demise, King Lewis continued in the undisturbed possession of his long wished for conquest.

CHAP.

V.

In the course of the succeeding year the confederacy received an accession of no small importance, by the incorporation of two cities; which the cantons had ever considered as the bulwarks of their country on the side of the Germanic empire. Basle and Shaffhausen had long shewn a bias in favour of the Confederates, and especially during the late Suabian war had essentially favoured them, less by actual services than by a strict neutrality, which had greatly offended the nobles both within their walls and in the vicinity. The Basilians in particular found it necessary to keep a strong and constant guard at each of their gates, to

Basle and Shaffhausen admitted into the Confederacy. 1501.

CHAP.  
V.

repel any sudden attack, to which they knew themselves to be incessantly exposed. Their best security, they plainly perceived, would be a participation in the Helvetic Confederacy; and the cantons, when the offer was made them, were too well aware of the utility of such a union, not to acquiesce in the candid proposal. The several articles and restrictions here stipulated were nearly similar to those contained in the leagues with Friburg and Soleure; but Basle, in consideration of its greater extent and consequence, received, with the free consent of those two cities, the precedence before them, and retained its place as the ninth canton. The union with this city was signed and publicly proclaimed in its market place, on the thirteenth of July: and such was the confidence it instantly inspired, that on the same evening all the guards were removed from the gates, which were now left open, and only a woman with her spinning wheel was stationed at each of them, merely for the purpose of receiving the tolls. The league with Shaffhausen was confirmed on the tenth of August; and this city took its rank in the confederacy as the twelfth canton.

The time is now approaching when, after many conquests and reprisals, the Confederates  
at

at length obtained the permanent possession of the seven transalpine jurisdictions,<sup>3</sup> which, though it may justly be doubted whether free states ought ever to hold dependences in absolute subjection, were however deemed so essential to their welfare, as to induce them to have continual recourse to arms, either for the defence or recovery of those important districts. This extreme solicitude may, among other urgent reasons, be obviously accounted for by the local as well as political situation of the confederate states. Several of the cantons had now established a considerable commercial intercourse with their neighbouring nations, and Zurich in particular was become the principal emporium of the extensive trade that was carried on between the marts of Germany and Italy. Great and incessant had been the toils of the peasants on the higher Alps (who moreover depended chiefly on Lombardy for their supply of corn) to open and keep in repair the craggy pass over Mount St. Gothard, on which their commerce with Italy absolutely depended: but all these efforts were often frustrated by the

<sup>3</sup> The Italian bailiwicks; 1. Riviera, 2. Bellinzona, and 3. Val Brenna, subject to the three original forest cantons; 4. Val Maggia, 5. Locarno, 6. Lugano, and 7. Mendrisio, which alternately received their periodical magistrates from all the cantons, Appenzel only excepted, which was not in the confederacy when these provinces were acquired.

malignity,

CHAP.

V.


malignity, caprice, or perhaps at times by the just resentment of the rulers, who had the command in the valleys that extend from the southern foot of the mountain. These chiefs, from the nature of their rugged and narrow dells, had it even in their power, with a very small force, to obstruct the communication so essentially necessary to that regular intercourse which the commerce absolutely required: and the Confederates had now learnt, from long experience, that no security of intercourse could be maintained unless they had a free opening to the larger lakes of Locarno<sup>4</sup> and Como, and to the less extensive and important lake of Lugano.

The valley on the Ticino down to Bellinzona, was at this time, by the voluntary surrender of the inhabitants, occupied by the three old forest cantons; and Lewis the Twelfth, when he became sanguine for the conquest of Milan, had not only engaged to confirm them in the possession of it, but also, in the eagerness of his pursuit, in which he knew how effectually the Confederates might thwart him, had even promised, if he succeeded in his enterprise, to make over to the cantons the cities of Lugano and Locarno, together with their valuable dependencies. No sooner, however, had he achieved his purpose, than he sent to claim Bellinzona

<sup>4</sup> This lake is also called Lago Maggiore.

as a part of the duchy of Milan, which being a fief of the empire, he alleged could not be dismembered, without infringing the fundamental laws of that august constitution. Repeated diets were held, and negotiations set on foot for adjusting this difference without an open rupture; and the neutral cantons earnestly exhorted the three ancient ones, whom this matter more immediately concerned, to listen to terms of accommodation: but these, incensed at the mere claim of the faithless monarch, would admit of no compromise, and peremptorily insisted on preserving the unqualified possession of what they deemed their lawful property. At length, finding no other security, they declared that they would argue with their halberds. They displayed their banners, and having summoned the Confederates, who were ready to comply with their wishes, they collected an army of fourteen thousand men, and led it into the valley, the possession of which they were firmly resolved to maintain. Charles de Chaumont, governor of Milan, assembled all the forces he could collect, and sent them to secure the passes from Bellinzona into the open country. Neither party had drawn out with a view to wage offensive war; but, incensed as they were against each other, pretences were not long wanting for the commencement

1503.

CHAP. V.  mencement of hostilities; and in a short time the Confederates became masters of the town, though not the castle, of Locarno, and of all the principal places on the northern extremity of that lake.

French seduction.

The king, being apprized of the decided measures adopted by the Confederates, determined to use every expedient to pacify them. He sent the bailiff of Dijon, and Richard le Moine, his private secretary, to their camp, who, at the interposition of the Bishop of Sion, and the Baron of Hohensax, soon brought about an accommodation, by which the three old forest cantons were confirmed in the possession of the town, castles, and all the dependencies of Bellinzona: and the king acceded to the capitulate of Milan on the same terms as had been accepted by the Sforzas. Lewis did not hesitate to make still greater concessions, and so anxious was he to become more intimately connected with this nation, whose friendship or enmity he well knew would determine his possession of the Milanese, that he resolved to use all means whether honourable or perfidious, to draw them into his snares. His public envoys and private emissaries accordingly co-operated with indefatigable zeal and industry to captivate the minds of individuals; and as this could not be more readily effected than by corrupting

rupting their morals, no incentive was spared that might divert them from that primitive simplicity, to which they had till now owed their domestic prosperity, and untainted reputation. The magistrates indeed opposed many obstacles to this encroaching evil. Having, to their great sorrow and surprise, estimated that the number of Confederates who had perished in the cause of France, amounted to no less than thirty thousand,<sup>5</sup> they came to a firm resolution to prohibit, under the most severe penalties, all foreign levies, and the clandestine resort of their men to the armies of the neighbouring princes; and, conscious whence this abuse chiefly arose, they resolved and strictly ordained that, after the expiration of the existing compacts, no further engagements, for military purposes, should be entered into with foreign states; and that all public subsidies and private pensions should cease for ever. Such, however, was the martial ardour of the people, that private enrolments could never be effectually prevented; and although most advantageous and pressing offers for foreign alliances were, during several years, peremptorily re-

<sup>5</sup> The number of Swiss who lost their lives in the French service, from the year 1480 to 1715, appears, by a moderate computation, to have amounted to 700,000—Meister's *Schweizerszenen*, T. I. p. 130.

jected;



CHAP. V. jected; yet even this salutary spirit yielded at last to the corruption of manners, the dereliction of true patriotism, and the narrow egotism, first propagated, and ever since industriously fostered, by the French and other foreign emissaries.

Historians have recorded, with surprise and marked disapprobation, the enormous prodigality of the French ambassadors then residing in the cantons. Their retinues equalled those of sovereign princes. They almost daily entertained most of the principal inhabitants of the towns in which they resided. One of them, the Bishop of Riez, often, at Berne and at Lucern, sat at table with one thousand guests. The Lord de Roquebertin, another delegate, offered to defray the expences of all the deputies who attended the diets at Baden: in his frequent journeys he scattered abundance of money among the crowds, who, in expectation of such largesses, did not fail to present themselves on his passage. Both of them made considerable presents to the women who were thought to have some influence among the rulers; nor were gratuities to favourite children sparingly distributed. To men thus predisposed, they represented in glowing colours the great advantages that would accrue to their country from a close union with the

11

powerful

powerful and munificent sovereign of the French monarchy, and insinuated that the treasures he still destined for his Helvetic friends, would soon raise their nation to an equality with all others in point of wealth and consequence. The government was not blind to the pernicious tendency of such exorbitant profusion, and issued rigid orders to restrain its progress : but many of the higher orders were not free from the suspicion of having shared in the corrupt donatives. Hence arose mistrust and animosities, which soon pervaded the senates, the cities, and the people at large : and even the cantons experienced a disunion, which, while it distracted their councils, and gave a free scope to their seducers, rendered dubious the fair reputation for wisdom and probity, for which they had hitherto been universally celebrated.

The first object the French obtained by their insidious arts was to render nugatory a treaty which the cantons had recently concluded with the emperor Maximilian. He, as head of the empire, of which the confederates were still considered as members, had called upon them for a body of troops to escort him to Rome, where he proposed to receive the imperial crown ; and nine of them had actually agreed to supply him with six thousand men for that purpose. The French agents however, aware that

1507.

CHAP.

V.



that the coronation was not the sole object of the intended expedition, exerted all their influence to invalidate this engagement. They did not succeed to the extent of their wishes ; but they obtained what was equivalent, the insertion of a clause in the treaty, which stipulated that these forces should on no account be employed against their sovereign. The emperor, whose real intention was to collect a large army in order to invade Milan, seeing himself deprived of these auxiliaries, laid aside his project. The pope, on this occasion, issued a brief, by virtue of which the head of the empire, although not crowned by the hand of the pontiff, has ever after assumed the title of emperor.<sup>6</sup>

1508.

The cantons, during the war which was carried on by the greatest powers of Europe against the republic of Venice, in consequence of the league of Cambray, still preserved their salutary reluctance to foreign engagements : and the whole of the ensuing year was chiefly spent in intrigues and negotiations for subsidiary alliances, which the senates still uniformly resisted. Pope Julius the Second, the implacable enemy of the King of France, applied for troops for the defence of the holy see ; and the Emperor, France, Venice, and other subordinate states, used every art to ob-

<sup>6</sup> See Vol. I. p. 204, n. 25.

tain

tain auxiliaries, though none of them succeeded ostensibly : yet with all its vigilance and earnest endèavours, the government could not effectually prevent the private levies that were constantly making, chiefly by France, and which, though solemnly condemned and disavowed by the magistrates in their official capacities, were no doubt secretly countenanced by men in power, who had not been proof against the prevailing inducements of French donatives.

The defiance offered to their decrees did not fail to irritate the bulk of the Helvetic nation against their Gallic neighbours, who still disregarded their most positive injunctions ; and this progressive enmity received no small addition from the insinuations and artifices of one who, though insignificant in his origin, rose to be the prime mover of many important events during several subsequent years. Matthew Shinner, a man of ignoble birth in the Valais, rose by his talents and intrigue, to high preferments in the church, and in the first year of this century was exalted to the episcopal see of Sion. He had, in the early part of his life, been intimately connected with George de Ober-Sax,<sup>7</sup> a powerful baron in the Valais and

<sup>7</sup> He is also by some called de la Flue, from the name of his principal castle in the Valais.

CHAP.  
V.

Rhætia. Both were actuated by ardent and aspiring passions, and both equally felt that nature had destined them for the higher sphere of political exertion. Both had warmly espoused the French interest; but the bishop estimated his services at so high a rate, that Lewis declined them, and thereby inspired him with the most rancorous resentment. His friend the baron, not coinciding with him in his vindictive views, animosities arose between them, which, unhappily for their country, ended in relentless discord and rank persecution. Shinner resolved now to seek his further aggrandizement by courting the favour of the sovereign pontiff, and with this view wholly devoted himself to his service. The power and versatility of his talents, with the brilliancy of his eloquence, procured him a decided ascendancy in most of the cantons, by means of which, at a diet held at Schwitz in the month of February, he negotiated and obtained the confirmation of a five years treaty, by which, in consideration of an annual gratuity of one thousand florins to each canton, the pope was, in case of emergency, authorized to raise six thousand Confederates, at his own expence. Thus was the humane purpose of the promoters of the absolute rejection of foreign engagements at once frustrated by the artful cabals of a revengeful prelate.

This

This treaty with the pope greatly contributed to widen the breach between the Confederates and the crown of France; insomuch that, the last alliance being about this time expired, and the king's ambassadors having applied for a renewal, the cantons, conscious that the success of Lewis had been chiefly owing to their auxiliaries, demanded a considerable augmentation of the pay and subsidies stipulated in the former treaties. The king, swayed more by a petulance of temper than the prudent advice of his ministers, rejected the proposal with scorn, declaring that on no account should the rude peasants of the Alps dictate conditions to him. Of this harsh expression he, not long after, found cause to repent; for the Swiss, in a pressing emergency, when he sent to demand their aid on any terms, abruptly refused to listen to any overtures.

In the month of July a body of Confederates marched down the valley of the Ticino, and spread terror to the very gates of Milan. Their object, they gave out, was, in consequence of a treaty with the Pope, to reduce the Duke of Ferrara to the subjection he owed to the holy see. They did not however make any considerable progress: their pay, which the Fuggers, an eminent mercantile house at Augsburg, had engaged to advance, not being duly issued; and perhaps (as indeed was suspected by many)

some

CHAP.  
V.

some of their leaders having yielded to the temptation of French corruption, they returned home, without having molested any of their neighbours. The pope warmly resented this dereliction of his cause, and even inflicted his spiritual censures on those who had disappointed his sanguine expectations.

1511. Soon after this fruitless expedition, three Swiss messengers were seized by the French in the Milanese; their dispatches were taken from them, and two of them were even reported to have been put to death. Schwitz was foremost in declaring its intention to revenge this insult, and instantly called upon the whole confederacy to join in an expedition for that purpose. France offered ample satisfaction, but without effect. Ten thousand Confederates assembled in the month of November at Varese, and actually advanced to within a few miles of Milan. Gaston de Foix, at that time governor of the duchy, collected all his forces, and marched out to meet them; but finding that he could not, with any prospect of success, hazard an engagement, he contented himself with observing their motions, and cutting off their supplies. They had spread wide over the country, and committed much havock, when on a sudden, for reasons that have never been ascertained, they turned off towards Como, and in a few days returned to their

their homes. Several have ascribed this sudden retreat to the non-arrival of some expected aid from Rome and Venice, but many have again suspected the all pervading influence of French seduction. CHAP.  
V.

The Bishop of Sion meanwhile, finding that he could not prevail over his antagonist in his own country, where the baron was singularly beloved, resolved to calumniate him in the cantons, with some of which this hated rival was connected by the tie of co-burghership. The crafty prelate succeeded so well at Berne, that the baron's name was actually struck out of the list of citizens: the latter however resolved to come in person to this city, and vindicate his conduct; but being arrived at Friburg, he was seized, thrown into a dungeon, and put to the rack in order to extort a confession of his secret practices with France. He was at the eve of being led to the scaffold, when Francis Arsent, the Avoyer, commiserating his fate, facilitated his escape. The burghers upon this, exasperated against the humane magistrate, seized and tortured his person, sentenced him to lose his head, and saw him publicly executed. The baron, who had fled to Neuchattel, was demanded by Berne, and surrendered. He was here tried; but the evidence adduced by the Friburghers being deemed insufficient, he was acquitted and released.

VOL. II. x released.



CHAP.  
V.

released. He returned to the Valais, where he continued to promote the French interest. The bishop in the interim, having incurred the odium of the people, was banished by the ostracism of the mace,<sup>8</sup> and fled under various disguises, and through innumerable dangers, to Rome, where his zeal for the holy church, or rather his implacable aversion to the French, was rewarded by the long wished-for dignity of cardinal.

In an age chiefly influenced by the policy of such men as Julius, Maximilian, and Ferdinand the Catholic, few instances can be expected of integrity, honour, or even common probity; and this period accordingly exhibits so rapid a succession of broken engagements, and such a complicated variety of unlooked for combinations and treaties, all of them most solemnly ratified, and the greatest part of them as wantonly infringed the very instant the momentary and selfish purposes for which they were made had been accomplished, that while the unravelling of them must perplex the historian, the best detail that can be given will only serve to excite indignation in the reader who looks for improvement in the contemplation of past events.

The Pope and the King of Aragon having

<sup>8</sup> See note 21 in p. 97 of this volume.

obtained

obtained the objects for which they had set on foot the league of Cambray, (the former having acquired an uncontrolled ascendancy over Venice, and the latter the possession of the kingdom of Naples,) they not only deserted the alliance, but, it being now highly conducive to both of them that France should retain no footing in Italy, they instantly entered into a close union with Venice against that kingdom, into which they gradually allured the emperor, and even the young and unsuspecting King of England; and availing themselves of the personal enmity the Swiss entertained against the French monarch, and of the influence of the Cardinal of Sion, who now returned to his country with the legatine authority, they found little difficulty in engaging the cantons in their cause. To this league, which had nothing in view but reducing the power of Lewis, the Pope, as head of the church, and the King of Aragon, who made religion the cloak for all his artifices, had the consummate assurance and hypocrisy to ascribe the epithet *holy*.

Early in this year the twelve cantons renewed their hereditary union with the house of Austria, at that time represented by the Emperor Maximilian, and his grandson Charles, the future sovereign of the most extensive monarchy in Europe. They also sent deputies to Venice

1512.

CHAP. V. to concert measures with the Cardinal of Sion,  
for the final expulsion of the French out of Lombardy. On the sixth of May they took the field, near twenty thousand in number, and proceeding from Coire, their place of rendezvous, through Trent and Verona, joined a body of Venetians at Villa-Franca, and advanced rapidly towards the Milanese, the whole of which was at their approach evacuated by the French generals de la Palice and Normandie, except the castles of Milan, Novarra, and Cremona, and those of Lugano and Locarno, the towns of which were occupied by the Confederates. Although the whole had been possessed in the name of the Holy League, yet particular appropriations were immediately made to the different coalesced parties. Among other inferior allotments, Parma, Placentia and Bologna were surrendered to the pope; Lugano, Locarno, and Domo were retained by the cantons; the Valte-line and Chiavenna by the Grison leagues; and what remained of the duchy of Milan was reserved for Maximilian, the eldest son of the lately deceased Lewis Sforza, a man truly, though not always undeservedly, unfortunate. The confederate bands after this returned to their homes, where they arrived about the middle of August, bearing with them a sword of pure gold, a ducal cap lined with ermine, and several

several consecrated banners of rich brocade, all which had been presented to them by the pope, who at the same time conferred on them the title of *Defenders of the Church*. CHAP.  
V.

The Confederates now spared none of the vassals or other retainers of the French king. They seized on the county of Neuchattel, which had about this time devolved to Lewis Duke of Orleans, in right of Joan of Hochberg his consort; but which, after retaining it seventeen years, they, being still more swayed by justice than expediency, freely returned to the rightful heir.<sup>9</sup> The canton of Soleure also took possession of the county of Thierstein, solely because its proprietor had entered into the French service. This also was soon after restored; but in the sequel it legally reverted to, and was finally incorporated with the canton.

Several of the members of the Holy League, so far from being satisfied with the accessions they had obtained in the late partition, formed new pretensions, which gave rise not only to private remonstrances, but even to public contests among themselves. Their animosities however did not so far blind them, as to conceal from them the necessity of retaining the friendship of the Swiss cantons, in order to secure the

<sup>9</sup> The canton of Uri could never be brought to consent to this restitution.

objects

CHAP.  
V.

objects they had in view ; and so urgent were most of the Christian powers, that at three diets held at Baden, Zurich, and Lucern, the former in August, and the two others in September, there actually appeared plenipotentiaries from the Pope, the Emperor, the Kings of France, England, and Aragon, the republic of Venice, the Dukes of Milan, Savoy, and Lorrain, and other inferior states. At these meetings the pope, no doubt through the intrigues of the Cardinal of Sion, appears always to have had the greater influence ; and yet even this crafty advocate found it impossible to obtain what had long since been the great object of the pontiff's wishes, a body of troops to reduce his refractory vassal, the Duke of Ferrara. The Confederates were unwilling to foment new wars in Italy ; and, with a view to prevent it, they agreed to send an embassy to Rome, the pope having requested it from a desire, no doubt, to impress other powers with an opinion of the ascendancy he had gained over this formidable nation. These ambassadors, having taken Venice in their way, heard the loud complaints of that senate both against the pope and the emperor, for having laid claim to many of their territories, which had been gratuitously assigned to them by the league of Cambray ; the latter of whom had moreover avowed the project

ject of seizing the duchy of Milan for his grandson Charles, who by that accession would have become the sole arbiter of the fate of Italy. The Swiss ambassadors were sumptuously received, and greatly caressed at Rome: they acceded to all the pope required of them; but obtained none of the objects they were instructed to demand, the principal of which was the restitution of Parma and Placentia to the Duke of Milan. Julius, under the specious pretence of preserving the peace of Italy, prevailed on them to use their best endeavours to pacify the Venetians; but the attempt they made for this purpose proved ineffectual. The emperor hereupon, and the pope, formed a new alliance against Venice; and this republic, a few months after it had contributed towards the expulsion of the French king out of Lombardy, was now in a manner compelled to espouse his cause, and was in the sequel not a little instrumental in reinstating him in the possession of Milan.

No intrigues, promises, or menaces of the neighbouring states could, meanwhile, divert the Confederates from their firm purpose of solemnly investing Maximilian Sforza with the duchy of Milan. The emperor himself, after many fruitless evasions, acceded at length to a treaty made at Baden, by which the cantons guaranteed the possession of Milan to this young

CHAP.

V.

young prince; who in return confirmed to them the absolute sovereignty over the bailiwicks of Lugano, Locarno, and Val Maggia, and agreed moreover to pay them the sum of two hundred thousand ducats, and an annual subsidy of forty thousand ducats. Several of the chief magistrates of the cantons were upon this deputed, who in the month of December repaired to Milan, had a previous conference with Maximilian, who had lately returned from Germany, and on the last day of the year attended his public entry into the city, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people. At the gate, the landamman of Uri, in the name of the whole confederacy, delivered into his hands the keys of his capital, and all the muniments and insignia belonging to the supremacy of the duchy. A few days after, the duke ratified the treaty of Baden, confirmed the cession of the three bailiwicks, solicited the further mediation of the cantons for the restoration of Parma and Placentia, and also of the Valteline and Chiavenna from the hands of the Grisons; but at the same time expressed his anxiety at an audience they had granted to a splendid embassy from France, which, knowing Lewis's determined purpose to possess the Milanese, he freely acknowledged had alarmed his fears.

The French king, in fact, having now sufficiently

ciently experienced that the fate of Milan depended chiefly on the Confederates, resolved to make another attempt towards conciliating their friendship. He sent to demand safe conducts for persons of no less consequence than the Marshal Duke de la Tremouille, Claudius de Seyssal Bishop of Marseilles, one of the most eloquent men of his court, and Imbert de Ville-neuve President of Dijon, a civilian of great repute, whom he proposed to send to them in the highest diplomatic characters. His pride however must have been abundantly mortified when he found that even these passports would be withheld by those rude mountaineers, whom he had so lately reviled, unless he would previously pay them the sum of two and twenty thousand crowns for a dormant claim, surrender the castles of Lugano and Locarno, still held by his garrisons, and solemnly engage not to suffer any of his emissaries to raise recruits among the Confederates, without the consent of the magistrates. The monarch brooked the humiliation, and when he had complied with these terms, his ambassadors appeared at a diet held at Lucern on the eleventh of February. The persuasive bishop, in the name of his colleagues, descanted in the most energetic language on the many and evident proofs his master had given of his earnest desire to be upon friendly



CHAP. friendly terms with the cantons : he extenuated  
 V. the harshness of an unguarded expression, and  
 1513. intimated that there was nothing they could  
 ask which, if in his power, the king would not  
 comply with : he reminded them that the al-  
 liances which had long subsisted between France  
 and the Confederates had ever been mutually  
 advantageous ; whereas both parties had but  
 too often been the dupes of Italian perfidy : he  
 apprized them that the king was at that very  
 time solicited by an Italian state to enter into a  
 close alliance ;<sup>10</sup> but that, preferring the friend-  
 ship of the Confederates before that of all other  
 nations, he should delay his answer until such  
 time as he should know their determination :  
 that if he had them on his side, he should  
 neither seek nor stand in need of any other  
 aid. A negotiation upon this commenced ;  
 many concessions were made by the French  
 ambassadors, and many points were adjusted to  
 the mutual satisfaction of the parties ; but an  
 insurmountable obstacle was at length started,  
 which instantly put an end to the conference ;  
 the king demanded their consent to his taking  
 possession of the duchy of Milan, which he  
 claimed as his lawful inheritance, and which  
 they, on the other hand, having lately obtained

<sup>10</sup> Alluding no doubt to the offers of Venice.

it

it by conquest, and formally granted it, main- CHAP.  
tained that they were bound by their guarantee V.  
to preserve to its present possessor. ~~~~~

Some expectations of a material change in the affairs of Italy were now raised by the death of Pope Julius the Second, who expired on the twenty-first of February; but the commanding spirit of Leo the Tenth, his successor, though neither so martial nor so implacable as that of his predecessor, had yet the same policy in view, namely, the securing to the church the supreme ascendancy within the Alps; for which purpose he went through the same rapid alternation of measures, and succession of treaties, alliances, and breaches of promise, that had marked the preceding pontificate. His first object was to renew the alliance with the cantons; and the Cardinal of Sion, in his behalf, still exerted all his influence to prevent their listening to any overtures on the part of France. Nevertheless Lewis, being well apprized that the new pope did not harbour so inveterate an antipathy against him as had ever animated his predecessor, and having moreover secured the assistance of the Venetians, thought he might venture an expedition into Italy without the danger of so stubborn a resistance as he had hitherto experienced from the pontiff. His army, consisting of four and twenty thousand men, commanded

CHAP.  
V.

manded by la Tremouille and the aged Trivulci, meeting with scarce any resistance, soon penetrated beyond the Sesia, and threatened the capital of Milan. Duke Maximilian, in this extreme danger, most of his towns having voluntarily surrendered to the invaders, had immediate recourse to the Confederates. These came without delay, about twelve thousand in number; and having been joined at Tortona by the duke, and a few dispirited Italians whom he had with some difficulty collected, they proceeded towards Novarra, into which place, as the French had shewn a manifest intention to besiege it, they threw a garrison deemed sufficient for its defence.

In pursuance of the treaty between the pope and the cantons, a combined army, under the command of Raymond de Cardona Viceroy of Naples, was to co-operate with the Confederates in the defence of Lombardy against the French. The Viceroy actually approached with no inconsiderable force; but he soon gave indications that his purpose was merely an ostensible display, and that in reality he meant only to look on at a distance. The Swiss soon perceived the fallacy of his desultory motions, and sent him word that they should place no reliance in his proffered aid. The French meanwhile had brought a numerous artillery before Novarra, and

and began to batter the walls with such fury, CHAP.  
V. that several breaches were soon opened. These however the Confederates wholly disregarded, and not only neglected to repair, but even to mask them; nor would they suffer the gates of the town to be shut, intimating to their enemies by a herald, that their bodies were the ramparts and fences on which they chiefly relied. The French, exasperated at the obstinate resistance they met with, resolved on a general assault; but having been repulsed with loss, and receiving intelligence that a fresh body of Confederates was approaching, they raised the siege, and retreated into a strong camp about three miles from the town. In the evening of the fifth of June, eight thousand Confederates joined the garrison, and brought intelligence that a further reinforcement was approaching, under the command of Ulric Count of Hohen-Sax. In the night the chiefs deliberated on the steps to be taken, and agreed not to wait for the reinforcement, that the enemy might not have time to strengthen their intrenchments: but to march out immediately and begin the attack before day-break, that the darkness of the night might in some measure screen them from the effect of the numerous artillery they knew they had to encounter. Thus resolved, Battle of  
Navarra. they sallied forth through the gates and breaches, and

CHAP. and forming in two columns, the one about

V.

seven, and the other three thousand in number, they advanced rapidly towards the enemy. While the latter column kept the cavalry in awe, the former marched straight up to the artillery, and rushed with their usual impetuosity upon the Lansquenets and French infantry stationed for its defence. Their approach however could neither be so rapid or unperceived, as to prevent a great havock being committed among them by the brisk fire kept up by the heavy pieces of ordnance. The hostile ranks for some time repulsed each other alternately like contending billows, and the victory remained long doubtful, until the battle-axes of the Swiss prevailed; and most of the Lansquenets having been cut to pieces, the whole artillery was seized. All that remained of the enemy's army hereupon fled in such dismay, that their commanders found it impossible to rally or detain any of them, until they had reached the confines of France. The whole of the cavalry escaped, the Swiss having no horse for the pursuit. The loss of the French in this battle, which lasted about three hours, was estimated at nearly ten thousand. Of the Confederates, about two thousand are said to have fallen. The victorious survivors, loaded with spoils (the whole of the French camp having fallen into

into their hands) returned in the course of the day to Novarra, where they were received with excessive joy by Maximilian, who found himself now a second time reinstated in his dukedom by the Confederates. CHAP.  
V.

Such was the fame the Swiss derived from this victory, that they were now universally deemed invincible; and writers of acknowledged impartiality and discernment<sup>10</sup> have not hesitated to acknowledge that, considering the intrepidity of the attack, voluntarily undertaken, with a force greatly inferior in numbers as well as arms, and unsupported by either artillery or horse, they much doubted whether any of the battles described by the Greek and Roman historians, can be compared with this, for conduct and heroism. With this renown, and with abundance of trophies and spoils, the Confederates returned to their respective homes, where they all arrived before the end of July.

Various causes, among which the distribution of the rich booty lately brought from Italy was not one of the least prevalent, soon excited murmurs in the country, which being fomented

<sup>10</sup> Paul Jovius; Guicciardini, &c. The latter bestows uncommon praise on one of the Swiss leaders whom he calls Motin; but he appears to have been misinformed, at least as to his name. See Wattev. Hist. de la Conf. Helv. T. II. p. 80.

by

CHAP.  
V.  
~~~~~

by the crafty legate and his creatures, shortly broke out into open insurrection. All who were suspected of favouring the cause of France being particularly obnoxious, several of them were put to death by popular decrees; and among these, even the aged and venerable banneret of Berne, Caspar Hetzel, whose son had, against his father's consent, engaged in the French service. The magistrates of Berne, Lucern, and Soleure, where the insurgents had been most outrageous, made several concessions, and even proceeded with great severity against all who were convicted of having secretly received French stipends, or having been instrumental in clandestine levies: but recollecting likewise the example of the Romans, who, in seditious times, were wont to avert the fury of the people by directing it against foreign enemies, they resolved to send an expedition abroad; and as a war with France they knew would be most popular, and no treaty or even truce subsisted between the two nations, they determined to invade that kingdom, in conjunction with the emperor, who had in fact urged the project, and promised to supply the sums required for the purpose, and with the King of England, who had recently invaded France with a formidable army. Their forces, commanded by James de Watteville, met at Besançon, and were there

Invasion of  
Burgundy.

there joined by Ulric Duke of Wurtemberg with a body of imperial cuirassiers and some artillery, and in a short time penetrated to the gates of Dijon, into which place the Marshal de la Tremouille, lately returned from Italy, had thrown himself with all the forces he had been able to collect. A wide breach was soon opened in the walls of this place, and the Confederates were preparing for a general assault, to the great terror of the inhabitants, when la Tremouille, conscious from the experience of former engagements, that he should not be able to resist the attack of such an enemy, and aware likewise that this place being once reduced, the capital and the whole kingdom would be exposed to the invaders, resolved to avert the impending danger by a delusive treaty, which, at the time it was negotiating, he was well assured his sovereign would not ratify. Some of their leaders having been previously brought over, the following very advantageous capitulation was accepted by the Confederates, without hesitation. ‘The king,’ it stipulated, ‘shall renounce all pretensions to the Dutchy of Milan and the county of Asti, and surrender all the strong holds his troops still occupy in Lombardy: he shall pay, at stated periods, the sum of four hundred thou-



CHAP.

V.



' sand crowns to the Confederates :'' the Duke  
 ' of Wurtemberg shall be reinstated in the pos-  
 ' session of all the appendages of the county  
 ' of Monbilliard, and shall moreover be indem-  
 ' nified for all his losses in this expedition : the  
 ' king shall strictly prohibit all clandestine  
 ' levies in the cantons and their dependencies :  
 ' and lastly, the Lord de Mezieres, nephew to  
 ' la Tremouille, and four other men of high  
 ' rank, shall be delivered to the Confederates  
 ' as hostages for the punctual execution of this  
 ' treaty.' The instrument having been duly  
 signed and sealed on the thirteenth of September,  
 the Swiss broke up their camp ; and re-  
 plied to the loud clamours of the Duke of  
 Wurtemberg and the Imperialists, that the  
 emperor, in not having issued the sums he had  
 solemnly engaged to supply them with, had in  
 fact been the first to break the contract. The  
 King of England, having mis-spent much of  
 his time at the sieges of Terouane and Tournay,  
 found the season too far advanced for any fur-  
 ther enterprise : and thus was France delivered  
 from a danger more imminent than any it had  
 ever been exposed to from foreign invasion.

Appenzel  
 added to the  
 Confede-  
 racy.

Before the close of this memorable year the  
 confederacy received its last accession, by the

<sup>11</sup> Guicciardini says 600,000.

incorporation

incorporation of the country of Appenzel, as a thirteenth canton. The conditions were nearly similar to those granted to Friburg, Soleure, and Shaffhausen. The federal act was signed on the tenth of December.

CHAP.  
V.

The first intimation the Confederates had of the fallacy of the treaty of Dijon, was the discovery that the four hostages, instead of being men of rank, as had been stipulated, were in fact common inhabitants of that city, to whom spurious names had been ascribed; and that the Lord de Mezieres had availed himself of the first opportunity that offered, to make his escape. Soon after they likewise learnt that the king, pretending that la Tremouille was not invested with full powers to accede to so dishonourable a treaty (by which nevertheless his throne had been preserved), had positively refused to ratify it. Although exasperated at this duplicity, they however, being equally incensed against the emperor, who had repeatedly sported with their unguarded simplicity, abstained from an immediate renewal of hostilities; the season moreover, rendering an expedition at this time too arduous, if not impracticable.

The succeeding year was chiefly consumed in intricate and subtle negotiations among the different powers who were interested in the

Y 2

possession

CHAP.  
V.

possession of Milan. The policy of Leo the Tenth was equally solicitous that neither France, the Emperor, or Spain, should possess that important province, made him alternately promote different combinations among the contending parties, according as they appeared to him most expedient. Lewis, notwithstanding the indignation he had excited by his refusal to ratify the treaty of Dijon, yet, ever aware of the importance of the concurrence, or at least the neutrality of the Confederates, towards effecting his purpose in Lombardy, had recourse to the mediation of the Duke of Savoy, and proposed a new treaty to the cantons. The attempt however proved abortive, the fulfilling of the capitulation being the only condition to which they would listen. Having failed in this object, he negotiated with the Emperor and the King of Arragon, and obtained from them a cessation of hostilities, which, having moreover made his peace with England,<sup>12</sup> left him at li-

<sup>12</sup> A Swiss embassy appeared at this time in London. Two deputies dispatched by the cantons were received with much distinction, and a negotiation was set on foot for an offensive alliance against France; but King Henry hearing that Ferdinand, his father-in-law, had made a truce with Lewis, broke off the conference.—‘This is the third time,’ said Henry, ‘the old fox has deceived me.’ He made a peace with Lewis, which was cemented by the marriage of this monarch with his sister Mary.

berty

erty to renew his attempt upon Milan. Thus were the Swiss once more destined to be the sole defenders of the dutchy of Milan: for though, towards the end of this year, they renewed their alliance with the pope, yet they well knew that no temporal co-operation could be expected from that quarter: and it was no small discouragement to them, when they found that the young Duke Maximilian had given such manifest proofs of his incompetency for the cares of government, as to incur the contempt of his subjects; who moreover, complaining that the Confederates had drained their country of almost all its specie, and assumed an oppressive superiority over them, were far from being well inclined to their cause, and much less disposed than heretofore to assist in repelling an invasion.

On the first day of the succeeding year, one of the most memorable in the annals of the Helvetic Confederacy, died Lewis the Twelfth, a victim of his tenderness and complacency to his young and lovely bride. This event, however, did not materially affect the state of public affairs, since Francis the First, his successor, brought with him to the throne a desire no less ardent and stimulating for the acquisition of Milan, than had incessantly goaded his predecessor. The French party in Switzerland, which,

1515.

CHAP.

V.



which, notwithstanding its unpopularity, was by no means inconsiderable, made a new effort to restore harmony between the two nations, but still unsuccessfully ; an embassy which the king offered to send to the cantons being refused admission, unless he would previously ratify and execute the convention of Dijon. As this measure would at once have invalidated his claim upon Milan, he hesitated no longer in making preparations for war ; and these were so formidable that, though their motive, as he alledged, was merely to humble the pride of the Confederates, and to guard against their threatened invasion of his kingdom, both the Emperor and the King of Arragon took such umbrage at their extent, as once more induced them to apply to the cantons for defensive alliances. As no doubt was now entertained of the true destination of the French armament, they promised to send considerable forces into Lombardy, to co-operate with those of the Confederates in the defence of Milan ; engagements which, like all the former, they broke as soon as emergencies required the fulfilment of them, or their purposes were answered. The cantons fortified their passes in the Jura, and marched an army into Italy, which, including eighteen thousand volunteers, amounted to at least forty thousand men ; a force which, had it

it been duly supplied with the money that had been promised, and had not, in consequence of this default, dissensions crept in among its different bands, would assuredly have coped with all the power France could have brought out against it. Their leaders, among whom the Cardinal of Sion held a conspicuous place throughout this campaign, thought it advisable to occupy the passes over Mount Genevre, the only roads that were then thought practicable between France and Italy; and strong detachments were accordingly stationed at Susa and Pignerol, in hopes of defeating the attempt of the French monarch in its very origin.

Francis having been informed of these preparations, and being well aware that no army he could bring into the field would be able to force the passes, defended by these hardy mountaineers, began to doubt the practicability of his intended expedition. The old and experienced Trivulci however, who throughout these wars had frequently explored the nature and situation of the chain of mountains that divides the Dauphiné and Provence from Lombardy, apprized the king that he knew of a third pass through which, though with enormous difficulty, his army might penetrate; and stimulated the emulation of the young monarch, by representing to him that, this deed  
once

CHAP.  
V.

once achieved, his glory might far surpass that of Hannibal, who had crossed the Alps through one of its easiest passes, and without a train of artillery, which he confessed might well be considered as an insurmountable impediment in this arduous enterprise. The pass he indicated led through the mountains of Argentierre and Guillestre, between the Cottian and maritime Alps. The king assembled his forces at Embrun. Although the emperor had promised the Confederates not to suffer the French to raise any troops in Germany, yet above twenty thousand Lansquenets were seen in this army. Three thousand pioneers were employed in blowing up and perforating rocks, and clearing paths, which after all were terrific to behold; and even in constructing stages against the craggy precipices. Along these the soldiers, with incredible labour, dragged their heavy cannon up to the lofty summits, and with still greater difficulty let them down into the opposite valleys. They saw one mountain succeeding to another, one steep rising above others which had appeared insurmountable; and after five days of incessant toil, at length opened upon the plain of Saluzzo, into which they transferred their artillery, and gradually descended their whole army, which meeting with no resistance, spread rapidly to Coni,

Coni, and Villa-Franca, where la Palice surprised and took a detachment commanded by Prosper Colonna. The Swiss having called in their detachments, and evacuated Turin, the king made his entry into that capital on the eighteenth of August.

CHAP.  
V.

The Confederates, who had withindrawn towards Novarra, perceived now that they were once more deceived by their treacherous allies. The Emperor had promised a body of cavalry, but not a single man appeared. Ferdinand, besides the aid he had promised in Italy, had engaged to invade France on the side of Perpignan and Fontarabia ; but no sooner had he been assured that Francis was marching his army over the Alps, than he disbanded the forces he had collected in that quarter. The money too, that had been promised them by the Pope and other allies was withheld ; and want, mistrust, and disappointment, pervaded their dispirited ranks ; they saw themselves compelled, rather than perish by hunger, to procure sustenance by acts of violence, which spread terror, and raised greatclamours against them throughout the country.

These murmurs and disturbances in the Swiss camp did not escape the vigilance of the French King and his wary counsellors ; and he conceived new hopes of being able to obtain the object



CHAP.

V.

object of his expedition, by the peaceful means of negociation. The Duke of Savoy, the customary mediator between these two nations, opened a conference, in which Francis made such advantageous offers, as, but for the artful insinuations of the cardinal of Sion, would probably have put an end to the war. This crafty prelate, who had personally derived great advantages from the prosecution of the contest, found means so to irritate the Confederates of Schwitz, Uri, and Zug, against the French, that they not only refused to participate in the negociation, but, being firmly resolved to defend Milar, left the camp and marched into that city, while the others remained behind, still dubious what measures to pursue.

The king, while this negotiation was pending, did not neglect to spread his arms, and to possess himself of many strong places round him, all which surrendered without resistance. At Novarra he recovered the train of artillery which had, two years before, been taken by the Swiss. He occupied Pavia, and detachments of his army advanced to the very gates of Milan. The conferences were once more renewed, under the auspices of the Duke of Savoy. The terms offered by Francis were, that Duke Maximilian, on surrendering Milan, should be created Duke of Nemours, espouse a princess of  
the

the royal blood, and hold high and lucrative offices in France: that the king should punctually perform all the pecuniary conditions stipulated in the convention of Dijon, and moreover pay three hundred thousand crowns for the expences of this campaign, and a like sum for the recovery of the Alpine provinces lately ceded to the cantons and the Grisons by Maximilian. This treaty having been duly ratified by the plenipotentiaries of each party at Galera, on the eighth of September, twelve thousand of the Confederates, chiefly of Berne, Fribourg, and Soleure, prepared for their return, and actually proceeded in their way homewards. They replied to the remonstrances of their countrymen, that they were weary of the treachery of the Italians; that the Viceroy of Naples, who commanded an army of allies on the Po, might long since have joined them, but had evidently kept at a distance, that the whole burden of the war might fall upon them; and that like a vulture he hovered round them, not to assist in, but to profit by the slaughter; that they were resolved not to follow the example of such fallacious friends: but having made an honourable peace with France, were determined punctually to observe its conditions. This retreat being made known, the Spanish, Papal, and Tuscan forces, advanced along the Po,

CHAP.  
V.

Po, with a seeming intention to protect the Milanese, but chiefly with a view, by this appearance of an intended co-operation, to prevent the total defection of the Confederates. They were followed and kept in awe by a body of Venetians commanded by d'Alviano; but the king, not trusting altogether to this uncertain aid, took post at Marignan, about nine miles from Milan, in order to prevent the junction of the Spaniards with the Confederates who had strayed behind in the latter city, and had recently been joined by a fresh body of their countrymen from Zurich and Zug, under the command of Mark Roust, burgomaster of Zurich,

Battle of  
Marignan.

The French army consisted of fifty thousand of the choicest troops of the kingdom, with a numerous cavalry, and an artillery which had never yet been equalled in Italy. It was animated by the presence of a young and beloved monarch, and led by the first generals of the age.<sup>13</sup> The country about Marignan, was intersected by many wide and deep trenches,

<sup>13</sup> Among these were numbered the famed constable of Bourbon, the Duke of Guelders at the head of 10,000 men of his black bands, John Stuart marshal of Aubigny, Tremouille, Trivulci, Lautrec, la Palice, Bayard, Montmorenci, and many others of no less eminence for conduct as well as courage.

offering

offering great impediments to an invading army. Along the most impassable of these cuts, the French had raised strong ramparts, behind which they had placed their numerous artillery, protected by the Lansquenets and infantry: the cavalry accupying the flanks, were ready to act according to emergencies. The number of Confederates who remained at Milan amounted to about twenty thousand. Their chief object was to defend the city; but they were now in great commotion, many being eager to come to a decisive action, whilst others shewed an inclination to follow their countrymen who had returned home. The cardinal, at this crisis, stepped forth, and addressing the latter, insisted in the most energetic terms, that by thus deserting the cause they had so publicly and solemnly espoused, they would infallibly expose themselves to the imputation of perfidy as well as cowardice: he figured to them in glowing colours the glory that awaited them if they persisted in their honourable purpose, after the defection of so many of their countrymen: addressing them all, he now reminded them of their past successes, and particularly of their late signal victory at Novarra: and urged them to give another instance that their valour was not to be daunted by an enemy double their number, and ever so advantageously

CHAP.

V.

CHAP.  
V.

ously posted behind trenches, bulwarks, and a formidable artillery: he admonished them by no means to wait for the arrival of the allies, who would share in the glory of the victory, without participating in the dangers of the combat: he fired their indignation against the Lansquenets, whom at all times the Swiss held in abhorrence; and having thus roused all their ferocious passions, 'seize your pikes,' he exclaimed, 'beat your drums: let us march forth to encounter an audacious foe, who, while he seeks to subdue the world, must fall a victim to a prowess such as yours.' Many were irresistibly impelled by this forcible remonstrance, and without order or delay, sallied forth towards the enemy's camp. Others however, and at their head the Burgomaster Roust, still shewed an inclination to accept the treaty, and return to their mountains. The cardinal however, persuaded that if an engagement were once begun, these reluctant bands would not forsake their friends and countrymen in the hour of peril, caused repeated messengers to come to the city and report the commencement of an action, and the danger of the Confederates being overpowered by numbers, and cut to pieces: and thus impelled, though the day was now far spent, the whole collected force advanced with such rapidity, amid shouts, loud

loud menaces, and mutual exhortations, that they reached the outposts of the enemy two hours before sunset. CHAP.  
V.

Having formed their array, they soon cleared the ditches, and forcing the ramparts, fell upon the first ranks of the infantry with impetuous fury, and broke their order. Through these they penetrated to the artillery, which being levelled too high, was played off with little effect; and a part of it, together with twelve ensigns of the Lansquenets, fell into the hands of the assailants. But the cavalry, and the king in person, surrounded by a numerous band of nobles, coming to the assistance of the disordered ranks, the conflict became most obstinate and bloody. The approach of night so far from procuring a respite, rather increased the havock, which amidst a horrid din of arms, exulting shouts, and the cries and groans of the wounded and expiring, raged without intermission till the fourth hour after sunset. Lassitude at length compelled a cessation; both parties, as if by mutual consent, suspending their blows, and seeking to rejoin their standards. They were however all intermixed; and many, who, being challenged, could not repeat their counter-sign, still met their doom. The cardinal was for a while in the midst of a party of Lansquenets; but availing himself of his

6 knowledge

CHAP.  
V.

knowledge of the German tongue, he escaped them, and hastened to some houses then in flames, where several of the Helvetic chiefs were deliberating on the next measures to be taken. They sounded a bugle horn, and by this means called together most of the confederates who had been till now dispersed throughout the enemy's camp. Here they took some refreshment, which the cardinal had hastily procured from Milan, and waited with impatience for the return of day. But such was the opinion generally entertained of the issue of this conflict, that swift messengers had before morning already hastened to distant parts, to announce a complete victory gained by the Swiss.


The king mean while, and his generals, availed themselves of the obscurity of the night to make a new and more advantageous disposition. The artillery was levelled with more precision, and the forces were collected and stationed in a manner better adapted to the nature of the country. The king hereupon laid his head on a gun carriage, and took some rest: but his courtiers shuddered next morning, when they found that he had slept within fifty yards of a Swiss battalion.

The fourteenth of September had scarce dawned, when the Confederates returned to the charge with redoubled ardor: but the enemy being

being now better prepared, they met with a much warmer reception. The artillery galled them severely; the cavalry fell on their flanks, and in some places broke in upon their ranks. Still however they gained ground, and expected every instant the palm of victory, when d'Alviano, whom the king had sent for in the course of the night, arrived with his light horse, and fell upon their rear. They still struggled with these accumulated forces; and the carnage was for several hours no less destructive than on the preceding night. But at length, seeing themselves wholly enveloped, and not doubting that the whole army of the Venetians was at hand, they resolved to quit the field. Towards noon they sounded a retreat; they gathered in a close column, placed their wounded in its centre, and having loaded the cannon on their shoulders, marched off the field in a slow and steady pace, and with such defiance in their countenances, that none of the surrounding enemy dared to pursue them, and that this very defeat seemed to prove that they could never again be vanquished.<sup>14</sup> They arrived at Milan before night. The greatest de-

<sup>14</sup> Ita tamen (Galli) victoria potiti, ut egregiè pugnando Helvetios magis vicerint, quam eos in posterum ullis viribus omnium opinione, vinci possie docuerint. Paul Jov. Histor. l. xv, p. 316. Edit. 1578.



CHAP. V.  triment they sustained in this retreat was the loss of a detachment, which having taken refuge in a grange, was burnt to death by the Venetians. On the next day, though the cardinal was still conjuring them to persist in this destructive war, they departed, leaving fifteen hundred men in the castle of Milan; and without any hindrance or molestation, withdrew into their country by the way of Como.

The number of slain has perhaps in no battle been more variously represented than in the present, some writers making that of the Confederates amount to twelve and even fourteen thousand; while others do not estimate it higher than three thousand. The loss of the French has been equally exaggerated and under-rated. An eye-witness however on the part of the Confederates,<sup>13</sup> reports that the whole number of slain did not exceed ten thousand; and that it was nearly equal on both sides. This is moreover corroborated by a muster-roll of the Confederates after their return, by which it appeared that about five thousand of their countrymen had perished in the action. All historians however agree, that few battles have ever been so obstinate, furious, and destructive. The king, impressed with a sense of the magnitude of the danger he had surmounted, ordered masses to

<sup>13</sup> L. Schwickart.

he celebrated three successive days on the field of battle, and caused a chapel to be erected on the spot in memory of the victory: and the veteran Marshal Trivulci, discoursing on this event, ever declared that he had been present at eighteen pitched battles: that all except this had been children's play; but that this had been *a battle of giants*.

The immediate consequence of this victory was the reduction of the whole Milanese by the arms of France. Duke Maximilian, having surrendered himself and the castle of Milan, was conducted into France, where he was treated with more lenity than his late father, and remained in a private station until his death. The king ordered great care to be taken of the wounded the Confederates had left behind them in the hospitals of Milan; and sent to the cantons to apprise them that he was still willing to adhere to the treaty of Galera. This offer was long refused by five of the cantons; and various diets were held, in which the several emissaries of the contending parties used all their skill and endeavours to influence the deliberations. At length however, on the twenty-ninth of November of the succeeding year, a

1516

general pacification was concluded at Friburg, by which the French king, as Duke of Milan, ceded for ever to the cantons the possession of

CHAP.

V.

the transalpine bailiwicks, and the provinces of Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, to the Grisons, with an option, however, of their surrendering the principal castles in these three districts to the French king for the sum of three hundred thousand crowns: all the privileges that had ever been held by the Confederates in the kingdom of France, were revived and confirmed: the payments stipulated by the convention of Dijon were ratified, with the addition of a free gift of three hundred thousand crowns to the whole Helvetic body, and an annual subsidy of two thousand livres to each of the cantons, to the Valais, and to the Grison leagues. This compact was declared to be perpetual, and has in fact been the basis of the many leagues that have ever after been made between the crown of France and the Helvetic confederacy: and thus few states can boast to have derived such important advantages from the most splendid victories, as the Swiss have, on this occasion, from a defeat.

In this war the Swiss nation may be considered as having acted as principals: but after the above league we find them repeatedly engaged as auxiliaries with other powers, frequently appearing in the field against each other, and though ever esteemed the best troops in Europe, yet earning a fame which was usually

ally absorbed in the glory of the sovereign or state in whose service they shed their blood. The Cardinal of Sion, who, after the battle of Marignan, had fled to Inspruck, had no ways abated of his inveteracy against France, and persisted with ardour in his attempts to raise fresh enemies to that abhorred monarchy. The emperor who, amidst nuptial festivities at Vienna, had in the preceding year neglected the fair opportunity of keeping Milan out of the hands of Francis, resolved now to make an attempt to wrest it from him. The cardinal, in his name, applied to the Confederates, and particularly to the five cantons that had resisted the alliance with France, for auxiliaries; and actually obtained a supply of men, whose pay it was agreed should be punctually defrayed out of the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand florins, which the King of England, who had entered into this alliance, had been prevailed upon to deposit at Constance for that purpose. Meanwhile the remaining cantons had already connived at a levy of ten thousand men by Francis, which force was once more collected for the defence of Milan, though now in favour of the prince, from whom they had in the preceding year endeavoured to withhold it. These now appeared against their countrymen who had engaged in the imperial service, but no conflict ensued in

CHAP. V. in which the blood of the Confederates was shed by their own brethren.

1522.

In consequence of a new treaty with France, concluded at Lucern, five years after the preceding one, a body of sixteen thousand Confederates joined a French army in Italy, under the command of the rash and arrogant Marshal de Lautrec, who was now contending with, and had been worsted by Prosper Colonna, who at the head of a body of imperial and papal forces, had actually driven the French out of Milan, and was preparing to restore that duchy to Francis Sforza, brother to the deposed Maximilian. Lautrec made an attempt to recover the capital, but being repulsed with loss, saw himself reduced to the greatest dilemma. The Swiss became impatient for want both of their pay and sustenance, and very urgent for an attack, in order to extricate themselves from the difficulties under which they laboured. Lautrec, doubtful of the success of an encounter, wished rather to observe and harass the enemy, whose chief force was stationed at the village of Bicocca, a strong post about three miles from Milan. The Confederates sent their leaders to him to represent, that their nation had, on repeated occasions, bled abundantly in the service of the crown of France; and that yet, contrary to all equity

‘ equity and sound policy, they were now de-  
 ‘ prived not only of their stipulated pay, but  
 ‘ even of their necessary subsistence: that thus  
 ‘ neglected, it was manifest in how little estima-  
 ‘ tion both their valour and fidelity were held:  
 ‘ that after having now been many days kept  
 ‘ in absolute want, they had determined to be  
 ‘ no longer deluded by empty promises, but  
 ‘ purposed forthwith to return to their homes:  
 ‘ that however, in order to evince to the world  
 ‘ that they did not quit the field from any ap-  
 ‘ prehension of difficulty, or wish to avoid an  
 ‘ enemy, they were ready and desirous to en-  
 ‘ gage the allies the next morning, and on that  
 ‘ occasion demanded the post of danger; but  
 ‘ that on the following day they should, with-  
 ‘ out fail, proceed on their way homeward.’

The marshal, having no alternative left, made  
 dispositions for an attack on the morning of the  
 twenty-fourth of February. It was agreed  
 that the strong intrenchments round Biccoca  
 should be stormed by three columns, one of  
 which, consisting of eight thousand Swiss, was  
 to fall upon the artillery. These, slighting the  
 commands of their leaders, rushed up, with  
 more impetuosity than order, to the outworks  
 of the enemy, and bore down every thing be-  
 fore them; but having reached the main in-  
 trenchment, they found a ditch so wide and  
 deep,

CHAP. V. deep, and a rampart so high, that their pikes could no longer reach the enemy. Thus reduced to inactivity, the cannon made a dreadful havoc among them, which soon proved fatal to upwards of three thousand of them, among whom were seventeen of their officers. Finding, after repeated attempts, that there was no possibility of forcing a passage, and that one of the other columns had been repulsed, while the third had remained inactive, they at length retreated from the unequal conflict, and on the second day after, having received neither pay nor provisions, quitted the army and returned to their mountains.

Lautrec, on his return to court, never intimated the least blame or suspicion of the fidelity of the Confederates; but openly declared that the failure at the Biceoca was solely to be ascribed to the want of remittances, which, on inquiry, was found to be owing to an artful contrivance of the king's mother, who, either being in want of money for other purposes, or from a hatred to the sister of Lautrec, who was the king's mistress, had detained the sum of four hundred thousand crowns, which had been issued for the army in Italy. From this imputation however, she found means to clear herself, by throwing the blame upon the venerable and guiltless treasurer de Sembleçay

Sembleçay, who perished on the scaffold, a victim to the perfidy of a deceitful woman. The brave and loyal Montluc, who was present at this action, seems to have delineated the true character the Helvetic nation had now acquired, when he says, 'the Swiss indeed are excellent warriors; but they must neither want money nor provisions: they are not a people to be trifled with, or to be amused with fair but empty promises.'<sup>16</sup> Nor had Francis the First evidently conceived an opinion injurious to their fidelity, since he was ever solicitous to retain considerable numbers of them in his armies, and to have them near him in the hour of danger; insomuch that when, after the disastrous battle of Pavia, he was led across the field, and shewn his Swiss guards all slain, and lying in the regular ranks that had been assigned to them near his person, he observed to the imperial officers who conducted him, 'Had all my troops done their duty like these brave men, I should not be your prisoner, you would be mine.'<sup>17</sup> 'The subsequent reigns,' says Baron

<sup>16</sup> Comment. T. 1. l. 1. p. 9. Ed. Par. 1617. 8vo.

<sup>17</sup> We must not, for the sake of impartiality, suppress here a passage in Guicciardini, in which he asserts that the Swiss in the battle of Pavia did not behave with their accustomed valour. 'Gli Svizzeri non corrisposono quel giorno in parte alcuna al valore solito a dimostrarsi da loro nell' altre battaglie.' It is not improbable that those who bravely fell on their posts near the king's person, were a select band he had chosen for his guards.



CHAP. V.  
 de Zurlauben, and he abundantly proves it in his elaborate military history, 'have sufficiently evinced that this people, notwithstanding the most distressful want both of pay and provisions, have yet proved inviolably true to their engagements, although the princes they served were far from making good the conditions they had solemnly promised to fulfil.'

Such is the representation of the conduct of the Confederates in this calamitous war, which may be collected from those of the contemporary writers on whose veracity we can best rely.<sup>18</sup> None of these intimate the least imputation against the honour and fidelity of the Swiss, much less stigmatize them with the opprobrious charge of baseness (*lâcheté*) and infidelity, with which some French authors have not hesitated to blast the reputation of this artless people.<sup>19</sup> Should they in fact (as indeed there is great reason to suspect) have been unjustly

<sup>18</sup> *Lauffer*, who professes having compiled from all contemporary writers, but more especially from *Lewis Schwickart*, an eye-witness, who fought at Marignan, and was killed at the Bicocca; *Paul Jovius*, of whose history the 15th book is well worth perusing by all who delight in circumstantial details of military operations; *Meseray*, a French author, who cannot be suspected of partiality towards the Swiss; *Guicciardini*, &c.

<sup>19</sup> *Gaillard Vie de François 1.—l'Art de verifier les Dates*, Vol. I. p. 633.

censured, the fate of the Swiss nation must no doubt appear singularly unfortunate. Harassed and trampled upon in the earlier period of their existence by their feudal lords, and those to whom these lords delegated their usurped authority; they had no sooner, by their valour and perseverance, shaken off their galling yoke, but they were allured into detrimental connections, perverted from their simple manners, and incessantly distracted and beguiled by their deceitful neighbours, in whose service their blood was profusely lavished. When at length, grown weary of deceit, and tenacious of their rights, they refused to be any longer the dupes of their insidious seducers, a loud clamour is raised against them, and they are, without mercy or reserve, taxed with baseness and treachery. Nor is this all the perfidy they have had to endure from the ally they have ever cherished with the greatest cordiality; the treachery and ingratitude they have experienced in our days from that quarter, being no doubt the completion of a system of extirpation, or at least of subjugation, to which the French appear long since to have devoted this unoffending people.

## CHAP. VI.

*The Reformation.*CHAP.  
VI.

**O**F the inconsistency of human nature no instance more striking and extravagant can perhaps be given, than that men, who in general are sufficiently remiss in the performance of their religious duties, should yet, whenever the mysteries they profess to believe are controverted or denied, not only most willingly, but often with impatient ardour, sacrifice their lives and fortunes in support of them; and that the measure of their zeal should for the most part be proportionate to the abstruseness or fallacy of the tenets which are the fond objects of their bigotry. While this may be viewed as a matter of mere surprise, or perhaps commiseration, it must be seriously lamented that a mistaken fervour for the glory of God should at any time have become the cause of bloodshed, cruelty, and a variety of atrocious crimes; and that in particular the christian dispensation, the distinguishing characteristic of which is peace, forbearance, and good will to all, and which, among innumerable obstacles, rose by the patient resignation and heroic self-denial, of its first votaries,

votaries, should at any period have fomented and authorized cruel persecution, relentless war and irreconcilable enmity. Such a period is now at hand, when religious dissensions unsheathed the sword, and gave rise to animosities and calamities, which for many years perplexed and tormented a large portion of the human race, and armed men against each other who, had they been influenced by the charity which was the basis of their faith, would have reconciled their jarring opinions with soothing toleration, and left the world at peace.

Many of the Confederates, whose reverence for the doctrines they saw clearly announced in holy writ, but whose cold indifference for all the superstructure added by the Roman hierarchy has been above noticed, were, it might well be expected, foremost in adopting and promoting a reformation; and, while it accorded with what they had long deemed an approximation to truth, they were pleased to see it reduced into a doctrinal system, affording a set of precepts by which they might regulate their faith and practice. Others, at the same time, no doubt from conviction, but perhaps more so from the force of habit, and the asperity induced by religious controversies, resisted with stubborn pertinacity what they esteemed a new-fangled innovation: and hence arose intestine

CHAP.  
VI.

intestine troubles in the confederacy, which, though sufficiently calamitous, were not however upon the whole carried to that excess of virulence which stains the annals of several neighbouring states.

Causes of  
the Reformation.

The gross ignorance of the clergy, and consequently the still greater blindness of the laity, in the middle ages, had now arrived at a pitch which could no longer brave the strictures of unadulterated reason, or abide the emanation of light which, rising from the east, had lately spread abroad in many parts of western Europe. A fond predilection for the subtilties of scholastic philosophy, which, dwelling upon nice distinctions more than upon accurate demonstration, exercise or rather perplex the mind without enlightening the understanding, had absorbed the ingenuity of most men who pretended to some distinction in the schools of erudition. Hermanus Contractus, a monk of Reichenau, had, in the eleventh century, translated several of the works of Aristotle out of the Arabic, and, by incorporating that philosophy with christianity, may be said to have once more fixed a crown of thorns upon the head of the Saviour. With this chaos of sophisms, which were sanctioned by abundance of academical and pontifical decrees, were combined a pompous display

play of casuistical divinity, the learned lumber of Duns Scotus, Thomas Aquinas and others: and a laborious study of ecclesiastical canons, the chief tendency of which was to confer on the Bishop of Rome the unlimited authority of an infallible vicar of Christ. This literary as well as religious despotism however, did not escape the censure and strenuous resistance of men of a different way of thinking. We have seen above with what freedom and intrepidity Arnold of Brescia, and his mystical brethren and followers, dared to animadvert upon the papal tyranny, and to inveigh against the profligacy of the men whose examples ought to have edified and instructed, instead of scandalizing and revolting the multitude committed to their spiritual guidance. Among these jarring antagonists appeared likewise at times a set of quaint allegorists, diffusing newly contrived doctrines and specious precepts, enigmas, and a variety of extravagant conceits. These warmed the imagination, but reason remained still uncultivated. The generality of the priesthood did not scruple to acknowledge their deficiency in the most elementary parts of learning. The canons of the collegiate church of Zurich having to notify an election to the Bishop of Constance, confessed that they transmitted it in the hand writing of their notary, because several

CHAP.  
VI

veral of them could not write. In the examination for holy orders it was deemed amply sufficient that the candidate could read, and tolerably comprehend what he read: even after the Reformation had made some progress, the people firmly believed, and the priests confirmed them in the persuasion, that the bells travelled every passion-week to Rome to receive fresh baptism; and that the exorcisms of priests could effectually dispel swarms of locusts, and all manner of insects. When, at an assembly of the clergy in the Valais, mention was made of the Bible, only one of the priests had ever heard of such a book: and several, on other occasions, did not scruple to declare, that it would be an advantage to religion if no gospel were extant; and that the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages greatly savoured of heresy.

Had the clergy however, in this unpardonable state of ignorance, maintained a decorum in their conversation and manners, they might still have preserved a degree of respect and influence which would probably have somewhat retarded the progress of the Reformation. But the profligacy, even of the heads of the church,

<sup>1</sup> The report of the examination of Leonard Brun for priests' orders, not long before the reformation, was, 'Benè legit, competenter exponit et sententiat, computum ignorat, malè cantat—Fiat admissio.'

had

had arrived at a pitch which it was no longer possible to tolerate or palliate. Scarcely a vice can be named for which Sixtus the fourth, and Alexander the Sixth, were not notorious. Their examples, it may well be imagined, soon became infectious. An iniquitous attempt to impose upon the credulity of the people of Berne, by a pretended miracle, though it met with condigna punishment, yet left an impression behind it which could never be effaced. The controversy concerning the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary had been carried on with considerable acrimony, chiefly by the Dominicans, who maintained the negative, and the Franciscans, who were strenuous in support of the affirmative. The prior of a convent of the former rule, more zealous than the rest in support of the opinion of his order, devised an expedient by which he hoped to establish conviction. He found means to introduce himself at night into the cell of a lay brother, a simple youth named Jetzer, and personating a soul out of purgatory, implored that he would rescue him, by certain flagellations, from his present state of expiation. The credulous youth complied, and in a second apparition the spectre assured him that he had succeeded. When he was thus possessed with a persuasion of his own sanctity, the Virgin herself

1507.



CHAP.  
VI.

herself next appeared to him, and enjoined him to declare that she had actually been conceived in sin, and that her son was greatly offended with those who maintained that any but himself had come into the world without the stain of original depravity. The monks now found means to administer a strong soporific, and in his sleep inflicted on him the five stigmas with which St. Francis, and other saints, had been dignified; and with these bleeding documents of his veracity they exposed him on the great altar of their church. The youth, notwithstanding his imbecility, had yet conceived some suspicion of the deceit, upon which recourse was had to poison. This danger however, he escaped; the whole fraud became public; and the prior, and three of his accomplices, being convicted before the episcopal court of Lausanne, suffered at the stake.

Without dwelling on the many similar, and other yet more flagrant instances of depravation, which are not disguised even by the ecclesiastical writers of the Romish church, all men must feel a painful conviction when they learn, from the charges that were brought by the citizens of Lausanne against their clergy, that the priests used often, even in the churches, and in the midst of divine service, to strike the persons to whom they bore ill will, some of whom

whom had actually died of their wounds : that they walked the streets at night, disguised in military dresses, brandishing naked swords, and insulting the peaceful inhabitants : and that the frequent rapes, violences, and insults they committed were never punished or even restrained. The following are the words of the eighteenth article : ‘ We have also to complain of the canons, that they reduce the profits of our town brothel, several of them carrying on the traffic of prostitution in their own houses, which they throw open to new comers of all descriptions.’<sup>2</sup> It is no small corroboration of the merited clamours raised against the clergy, that their own zealous advocate and protector, Charles the Fifth, publicly declared to them, that if their lives had been less reproachable, they would never have had to contend with a Martin Luther.

Owing no doubt, in a great measure, to the taste for solid erudition and correct criticism, which had, towards the end of the fifteenth century, been gradually introduced into the western parts of Europe by the learned refugees from Constantinople, and to the rapid propagation of knowledge, by means of the newly

<sup>2</sup> These charges consist of twenty-three articles, and are given at length in Ruchat's *Hist. de la Reform. de la Suisse*, T. 1. p. xxxii. They are of the year 1538.

CHAP.

VL

discovered art of printing, the instances now became frequent, particularly in Swisserland, of men who publicly, and even in the pulpit, insisted upon the necessity of having recourse to the holy Scriptures for the doctrines and precepts essential for salvation. John de Vesalia preached<sup>3</sup> 'that men can only be saved by the ' grace of God, and the merits of the Redeemer ; ' that only the word of God, and not the comments of the fathers, was to be received as the ' guide of our faith ; and that all human traditions were fallacious, and ought to be rejected.' Even Picus of Mirandola, one of the brightest ornaments of his age, but who was unwilling to be considered as a schismatic, publicly declared in the council of Lateran, that the church stood in absolute need of a reform. The smallest proficient in polite literature must be struck with the freedom with which Erasmus, a very undecided favourer of the Reformation, wrote ' concerning the abuses in the church of Rome, and the immorality and hypocrisy of the regular as well as secular clergy : whereby, at the same time that he was offered a cardinal's hat, he drew upon himself, from the Sorbonne, the appellations of fool, infidel, and

<sup>3</sup> At Worms in the year 1470.

<sup>4</sup> See his Colloquia, *Moriæ Encomium*, *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, de *Ecclesiaste*, &c.

enemy of Christ, the Holy Virgin, and the Saints. But above all must be here noticed the intrepid Ulric Zwinglius of Wildenhaus, in the district of Tockenbourg, who, after pursuing his studies at Berne, Vienna, and Basle,<sup>5</sup> and being appointed parochial priest at Glaris, in more determined and unequivocal terms than any of his predecessors or contemporaries, urged the absolute necessity of investigating the Scriptures, in order to restore the church to its pristine purity. We learn from himself that he began to preach the gospel in the sixteenth year of this century, in which year he was removed to the parish of Einsidlen; and though many have co-operated with him in the great enterprise, yet having been the first who was willing to be considered as a professed separatist from the church of Rome, he may with reason be considered as the apostle of the Reformation in Switzerland.<sup>6</sup>

CHAP.  
VI.

Ulric  
Zwinglius.

1516.

By one of those singular combinations of even repugnant causes which abound in history, Pope Leo the Tenth contributed most es-

<sup>5</sup> At Basle he, and his friend and constant co-operator Leo Judas, studied under Thomas Wittembach, who was afterwards called as parish priest to his native city of Bienne, and became the principal promoter of the Reformation in that town.

<sup>6</sup> He was even prior to the great reformers in Germany.  
sentially,

CHAP.  
VI.

essentially, though by means diametrically opposite, to the rapid progress and final establishment of the Reformation. The taste he encouraged for science, as well as for the polite arts, which, as their principles must be deduced from reason, cannot be cultivated without enlightening the understanding, had diffused such an intellectual light throughout the most flourishing parts of Europe, that the orthodoxy of the day could no longer maintain the implicit sway it had till now been accustomed to assert without control. The incredulity moreover which the pontiff himself frequently betrayed in his moments of relaxation,<sup>7</sup> and the profligacy of his court, which could no longer be disguised or any way excused, were observed with deep concern and disapprobation, even by those who were well inclined to maintain the unity of the catholic church,

But what mostly accelerated the decline of that proud fabric, was no doubt the imprudent use the pope now made of the power he arrogated to himself to pardon the sins of the living, and even to absolve the dead from the punish-

<sup>7</sup> In his hours of recreation he would admit two buffoons, disputing before him concerning the immortality of the soul; and after they had used a variety of facetious arguments, he often determined in favour of him who maintained the negative.

ment

ment due to their transgressions. The enormous profusion of this splendid pontiff, in adorning the city of Rome, in supplying the wants of his rapacious minions, and above all, in increasing the opulence of his house, had so entirely exhausted the treasures of the apostolic chamber, that none but extraordinary means could now be devised to supply the wants, which he was determined not to obviate by a due attention to economy. Accordingly Cardinal Campejus in England, Angelo Arcimbaldo in Germany, and Bernardino Samson, a Franciscan monk of Milan, in Switzerland, were empowered to distribute, at fixed prices, plenary indulgences for all manner of offences, past, present, and even in contemplation. Had these delegates conducted themselves with common prudence and moderation, it is possible that even this preposterous stretch of apostolical authority might have met with too little opposition to have produced the schism which in a few years divided the Christian world, and became the cause of horrid bloodshed and desolation. Samson crossed the mountains and arrived at Uri in the month of August: here he met with no resistance; but the market was not productive. He thence proceeded to Schwitz. Zwinglius was at that time at Einsiedlen, and publicly declared his abhorrence of the traffic,

CHAP.  
VI.

traffic, which he represented as an impious imposture. Samson soon abandoned this unpromising spot, and repaired to Zug, where he exposed his merchandize for sale during three successive days. The concourse of purchasers was so great that, it was with much difficulty many could approach the cross at which the sacred stores were distributed. The produce was no less considerable at Lucern and Unterwalden, each of which was now visited in its turn. Berne at first shewed some reluctance to receive the apostolic vender ; but the emissaries whom, according to his practice, he had sent before him to bring over by gifts or promises the citizens of some note, soon procured him a favourable admission. He displayed a sacred banner, and with great solemnity celebrated high mass in the great church. To the poor he sold indulgences on paper, each at the price of two-pence ; the rich bought them on vellum for a crown ; but many, perhaps to procure an absolution from sins of greater magnitude, paid far higher prices, even to the amount of five hundred ducats. Jacob de Stein, a Bernese captain, gave the monk a handsome grey palfrey for an indulgence for himself, his whole company of soldiers, consisting of five hundred men, and all his subjects in the seigniory of Belp. On the Sunday before the papal agent left

left this city, he convened all the inhabitants in the great church, and there declared to them from the high altar, 'that now the souls of all the Berners, whenever, wherever, and whichever way they had died, were at that moment freed not only from the pains of purgatory, but even from the torments of hell; and that they were all received into the full beatitude of heaven.'

He proceeded next through several towns in the Argau, and met with various success; but he encountered a powerful opposition at Bremgarten, from Henry Bullinger,\* the secular priest of the place, who succeeded in preventing his admission into the town. Samson excommunicated this daring antagonist, and threatened to arraign him before the diet of the cantons then assembled at Zurich.

Zwinglius, before the end of this year, had been by the provost and canons of Zurich elected ordinary preacher in their collegiate church; and on his arrival there, on the twenty-seventh of December, declared to them, that, instead of preaching on the Dominicals, as had till then

\* The correspondent of the highly accomplished and unfortunate Jane Gray. See Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. T. iii. p. 225. They likewise preserve in the public library of Zurich, an ample collection of original letters to this and other Swiss reformers from Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, also from Horner, Grindall, and other English divines.

been



CHAR.  
VL

been practised, he proposed to expound the Gospel of St. Matthew, not according to the traditions of men, but conformably to the word of God. His sermons, which attracted a great concourse of people, together with the works of Martin Luther, which were now profusely dispersed throughout the north of Swisserland, chiefly by means of the press of Frobenius at Basle, had by this time propagated in these parts a spirit by no means favourable to the commerce Samson was preparing to establish at Zuric.<sup>9</sup> He came to the gates, but was refused admission; till, on declaring that he had matters of importance to communicate from the sovereign pontiff, the magistrates suffered him to enter. He exhibited his full powers before the diet, desired they would send to Rome to certify themselves of their being genuine, and called upon the diet to censure the audacity of Bullinger. His conduct throughout the cantons had in many instances been so reprehensible, that even those who were best inclined to the established church, knew not how to countenance his demands. He was desired to revoke the excommunication of Bullinger,

<sup>9</sup> Samson, besides this resistance, had also incurred the displeasure of the Bishop of Constance, by having, on entering his diocese, omitted to cause his credentials to be duly authenticated by the ordinary of the see.

and

and then to leave the city ; and the diet wrote to the pope to request that he would recall his emissary. Leo complied ; but at the same time sent a formal declaration to the cantons, that he had an undoubted right to distribute indulgences, and ordered them to believe it under pain of excommunication.

Abundance of reformers now sprung up in different parts of Helvetia ; but in no place was the gospel preached with greater success than at Zurich, where Zwinglius, and his two friends and fellow-labourers, George Stehelin and Jacob Ceporinus, made such progress, that towards the beginning of the following year, upwards of two thousand of the inhabitants publicly adopted the tenets they inculcated ; and very soon after an edict was published in this city, enjoining all the parochial clergy to preach no doctrine but what could be proved by passages of Scripture. This was the first, and no doubt a most important step, which the Reformation had now made, not only in this, but in several neighbouring cities and districts.<sup>10</sup>

1520.

<sup>10</sup> Among the many divines, who about this time preached the Gospel in the different parts of Helvetia, the following were the most eminent :

At Zurich, U. Zwinglius, G. Stehelin, J. Ceporinus, L. Judas, J. Stumpfius.

At

CHAP.  
VI

The higher clergy, as well as the religious orders, particularly the Mendicants, perceiving the progress of a doctrine, which in the end must prove detrimental to the power and influence they derived from the hierarchy, began now to exert themselves with the utmost vigour against the spreading danger, and earnestly called upon the civil power to co-operate with them in repelling the innovations, which they feared their arguments might not have sufficient weight to counteract. The bishops of Constance and Lausanne issued mandates, addressed to the priests and magistrates of their dioceses, exhorting them firmly to adhere to the long established doctrines and

At *Basle*, J. Oecolampadius, W. F. Capito, J. Luthard, W. Reublin, C. Hedio, C. Pellican. At *Berne*, B. Haller.

At *Shaffhausen*, S. Hoffman, S. Hofmeister. At *St. Gallen*, B. Burgraver, J. Vadianus.

At *Appenzel*, J. Shurtanner, W. Klarer, J. Hess, P. Amstein.

At *Geneva* and *Lausanne*, Fr. Lambert. At *Bienne*, T. Wittenbach.

In the *Grisons*, J. Burkli, J. Salandroni, C. and J. Bivroni.

At *Lucern*, C. Schmid, O. Myconius.

Leo Judas had succeeded Zwinglius at *Einsidlen*.

It was not unusual at this time for the learned men to convert their German names into Greek or Latin.—Thus, the true name of *Oecolampadius* was Hausschein; of *Vadianus*, Von Watt; of *Myconius*, Geisshauser; of *Megander*, Grossman; of *Melanchthon*, Schwartzertdt, &c.

of

ecclesiastical precepts, and to the ordinances of the holy fathers; and devoutly to pray to God for peace and unanimity in his holy church. The former also, or rather his vicar John Faber, wrote to the provost and chapter of Zurich, to recommend to them the strict observance of the bull of Pope Leo, and an edict of Charles the Fifth against Luther and the new doctrines; adding, that the authors of these new doctrines were undoubtedly actuated by an infernal spirit. These injunctions, from authorities which men had been long accustomed to revere, were not without some effect, and soon called forth a vindication from Zwinglius, which under the title of *Archeteles*,<sup>11</sup> contained, in sixty-nine articles, the polemics of all the points in controversy between the contending parties. Notwithstanding this defence, the diet, which was now met at Lucern, issued, on the twenty-seventh of May, a decree strictly prohibiting what was now generally denominated the *new errors*. To this Zwinglius and his associates opposed sundry apologies and justifications; but while the controversy was carried on with much asperity on both sides, the laity, whose respect for the mandates of the established church had of late been

CHAP.  
VI<sup>11</sup> Beginning and end.

much

CHAP. VI. much impaired, paid little regard to the ordinances which prohibited their listening to what appeared to them a more rational scheme of religious worship, than that which had hitherto been prescribed to them by their spiritual leaders.

Revolution  
at Geneva.

The city of Geneva, which in the sequel proved one of the most conspicuous promoters of the Reformation, underwent about this time such a political revolution, as greatly facilitated its emancipation from ecclesiastical subjection, against which it had long contended.

(1032.) When we last adverted to the concerns of this city, it was considered as the metropolis of the second kingdom of Burgundy; and had, by the death of Rudolph the Third, the last sovereign of that realm, devolved by bequest to the Emperor Conrad the Second, and through him to the empire. We have seen, by several instances in what manner the embarrassed circumstances and feeble government of several succeeding emperors, had permitted many of their governors in the cities and provinces to arrogate to themselves an independent, and almost absolute sway, which they exercised under the titles of dukes, counts, and prelates of various denominations. The bishops of Geneva, of whom the series ascends as high as the fourth century, were not neglectful of the opportuni-

ties this relaxation of power afforded them, to extend their temporal authority; and they would probably have become no less despotic than the many ecclesiastical princes in Germany, who derived their supremacy from the same source, had not the counts of the Genevois incessantly struggled with them for the superiority, and in some instances maintained their claims against the interference both of the pope and emperor, who looked upon the prelate as the less dangerous surrogate. While the bishop however chiefly prevailed in the city, the count was allowed to exert a superior dominion in the surrounding district. The citizens also availing themselves of this contention, did not omit to extend the franchises which they claimed from the times of Charlemagne, and gradually established a municipality, which in the end prevailed both over the count and bishop. A grand council, or general assembly, consisting of all the citizens, a senate of twenty members, a treasurer, and four syndics at their head, annually elected by the council, constituted this magistracy, which, without any concomitant authority, regulated the police of the city,<sup>12</sup> and had a great share in the administra-

CHAP.  
VI.

<sup>12</sup> The syndics were the supreme magistrates from the setting to the rising sun; they had the custody of the keys of the gates, and the security of the city was entirely committed to them.

CHAP.  
VI.

tion of justice. In addition to all these ruling authorities, the bishop had also his Vidame, and under him a Castelan, who superintended the secular affairs of the see, and determined in the first instance all civil actions, and whose peculiar office it was to cause the sentences of the criminal courts to be executed.

(1230) In so complicated and ill defined a government it may well be imagined that abundance of doubts, difficulties, and contests must have arisen. But the incongruity became far greater, when towards the end of the thirteenth century the Count of Savoy extorted from the bishop the office of Vidame, which he executed by a deputy, who in the sequel became the delegate both of the bishop and the count. Not content with this executive office, which gave him a right to interfere in various concerns of the city, these counts in process of time became also possessed of the county of Genevois, which was purchased from Odo de Villars, the representative of the old race of counts, by Amadeus the Eighth, count, duke, and antipope. He now formed the design, which his successors did not fail to prosecute with unremitted perseverance, to reduce this city into absolute subjection; and in order to obviate the resistance that might be offered by the bishops, it was frequently contrived that the dignity should be conferred

conferred on younger branches, often infants, and even illegitimate sons, of that aspiring race.

CHAP.  
VI.



Had Charles the Third, the eighth successor of Amadeus, been contented with the legal and very extensive prerogatives he possessed in the city of Geneva, there is no doubt that he might have preserved them himself, and handed them down to his posterity; but his whole life was a series of attempts to incroach upon the privileges of the citizens, in which he was seconded by Bishop John, a bastard of Savoy, who, feeble and deformed both in body and mind, surrendered all that the duke thought proper to demand. Charles frequently came into the city with large retinues, and performed acts of severe despotism. He twice entered with an armed force, seized, imprisoned, and put to death several of the citizens against whom he had conceived suspicions, and threw the whole city into consternation and dismay. Berthelier, one of the citizens, seeking some refuge from similar acts of oppression, applied for, and readily obtained the co-burghership of Friburg; and availing himself of the influence this afforded him, found means to bring about an alliance between this and his native city. The friends of the duke, who strenuously resisted this union, were, from the servility imputed to them, distinguished by the name of *Mamalukes*, whilst

VOL. II.

B b

the



CHAP.

VI.

1519.

the advocates for liberty, who of course inclined to a nearer connexion with the Confederates, and no doubt to the reformation which was gaining ground among them, received the appellation of *Eignots*.<sup>13</sup> Berthelier fell a sacrifice to the vengeance of the duke, and has added to the numerous instances of their folly, who think that by destroying an individual they may suppress a cause. The enmity between the duke and the citizens broke out into open war, and continued with alternate success during upwards of six years, when the latter succeeded in forming a permanent alliance with the cantons of Berne and Friburg, which proved an effectual bar against the attempts of the intruding Savoyard.<sup>14</sup> What remained of the Mamaluke faction was banished from the city, and having joined the nobles of Savoy, long after maintained an inveterate animosity against those whom they branded with the appellation of revolvers. The bishop, so far from resisting the progress of this spirit of independence, consulted his own security by accepting the freedom of his city, by which means he shared in the protection afforded by

<sup>13</sup> From *Eidgenossen*, the German name for Confederates. It is more than probable that the general appellation of *Hu-genots* is derived from this mutilated word.

<sup>14</sup> This alliance was signed on the 20th of February, 1526.

the

the alliance with the two cantons. But the duke neither knew how to moderate his resentment, nor to abstain from hostile attempts; wherein he was eagerly seconded by his vassals both of Savoy and the Pays de Vaud, who joined in an association which, some of them having boasted that they would eat up the audacious citizens by spoonfuls, obtained the appellation of the *fraternity of the spoon*. They incessantly harassed the city; nor were they effectually restrained by a peace which the duke was compelled, by the cantons in alliance with Geneva, to conclude at St. Julian on the nineteenth of October. In the ratification of this peace it was expressly stipulated, that if the duke or his nobles should any ways infringe this compact, he should forfeit the Pays de Vaud to the allied cantons; and that if Geneva should be the aggressor, the cantons would relinquish their alliance with that city.

1530.

Zwinglius, in the mean time, whose object it was to reform the manners of the people, as well as the errors of the church, had incurred much odium among the more considerable of his countrymen, by the severity with which he inveighed against all foreign pensions, subsidies, and military services, which he represented as the fatal sources of the great progress that vice and immorality had of late made

Progress of  
the Reformation.

CHAP.  
VI.

among them. Neither could this enmity, nor yet the threats, promises, or caresses of Pope Adrian the Sixth, who had now succeeded Leo,<sup>15</sup> and who alternately used all these means to moderate his zeal, divert him from his fixed purpose of expunging the superstitions and abuses that had crept both into the church and state. He held frequent disputations with many of the most eminent casuists of the established church, which, as he generally prevailed, gradually paved the way to the abolition of several ecclesiastical rites of modern date. Among these the invocation of saints, the worship of images, the celibacy of priests, and the occasional abstinence from meat, were some of the first that were abrogated by sovereign authority. Baptism was ordered to be administered in the vulgar tongue: permission was given to nuns to quit their convents and marry: some abbeys accepted of secularization:

<sup>15</sup> Leo died December the 1st, 1521. The Cardinal of Sion, after having a second time been driven from his see by the proscription of the mace, died also at Rome, September 30, 1522. His political intrigues, by diverting him from the duties he owed to his clerical functions, were not a little conducive to the progress of the reformation in Switzerland. His countryman and inveterate rival, George de Ober-Sax, died likewise in banishment, at Vevay, about the year 1530. Thus do the machinations of restless and ambitious men, for the most part, ultimately lead to their own detriment.

several

several priests entered into the state of matrimony: and Zwinglius himself soon after sanctioned the practice by his own example.<sup>16</sup>

Early in this year the celebration of mass was also abolished by authority of the senate: and Zurich gave evident symptoms of a speedy and complete separation from the mother church.

The other cantons, which still retained their veneration for the ancient establishment, summoned a meeting at Lucern, at which resolutions were framed for reforming certain abuses; but a firm purpose was declared not to stray from the pale of the church. Most of the articles of faith, and the canons and rituals, were solemnly confirmed; but as the tendency of the regulations here made went chiefly to curtail the undue profits of the clergy, by the restraints laid upon simony, the sale of indulgencies, the plurality of benefices, and other pious extortions, their proceedings were deemed no less heretical than those of the profane innovators of Zurich. Berne individually ventured to prohibit the concubinage of priests; and, among other obnoxious decrees, they declared that 'whereas men had been unduly burthened ' by the pope, bishops, and other prelates, with ' heavy exactions for absolutions, matrimonial

<sup>16</sup> He married Ann Reinhart, a widow, on the 2d of April, 1524.

' and

CHAP.  
VI.

‘ and other licences, and exemptions from ex-  
 ‘ communication, they not only placed no sort  
 ‘ of reliance on similar dispensations, but more-  
 ‘ over were firmly of opinion that whatever  
 ‘ could be effectuated by money, could equally  
 ‘ be brought about without pecuniary retribu-  
 ‘ tions.’ Notwithstanding these progressive  
 steps, alternate successes were still obtained in  
 several places by the Romish and the Zwing-  
 lian parties; and while at Basle the people  
 compelled the magistrates to adopt the reno-  
 vated doctrines, the council of Berne exacted  
 implicit compliance from some of their sub-  
 jects, who had by their catholic neighbours  
 been taught to resist what was represented as  
 an impious apostacy.

While this spirit of free inquiry, and a ten-  
 dency for emancipation from arbitrary autho-  
 rity, was thus gaining ground in the northern  
 parts of Switzerland, the central districts, and  
 especially the four original or forest cantons,  
 with that of Zug, ever averse, in their rustic  
 simplicity, to all manner of innovation, conti-  
 nued stedfastly addicted to the doctrines, as  
 well as ceremonies, which had been handed  
 down to them by their forefathers.

Anabap-  
tists.

The Romish clergy were not the only anta-  
 gonists with whom Zwinglius and his fellow-  
 labourers had to contend. Thomas Munzer,

the apostle of the anabaptists, who, after having, under the specious pretence of Christian humility and self-denial, raised great disturbances, and occasioned much bloodshed in Germany, had at length been expelled from that country, came to Basle ; and as he preached a doctrine ever acceptable to the dissolute, and hence more numerous, part of the inferior classes of society (an equality of condition, and the abolition of all temporal authority) he soon found abundance of followers, and intruded himself into most places where the dawn of the reformation and of free inquiry had of late been spreading. Both at Basle and Zurich he, and some of his principal converts, had various public conferences with Oecolampadius, Zwinglius, and others of the more eminent reformers, the issue of which fully authorized the magistrates to proceed with rigour against these daring disturbers of good order and tranquillity. Nor was there much difficulty in suppressing their dangerous innovations, since the moral conduct of the teachers was such as must disgrace every sect which, pretending to reform abuses, is so inconsistent as to countenance, and even encourage, all manner of depravity.

The catholic cantons, in the following year, insisting on the necessity of some effectual steps, in order to restore peace and unanimity in the country,

1525.

Synod at  
Baden.  
1526.

CHAP.  
VI.

country, succeeded, after various fruitless attempts, in convening a general synod at Baden, to which they invited the Bishops of Constance, Basle, Lausanne, and Coire, and which actually met on the tenth of May. Zwinglius, alledging the examples of John Huss, Jerom of Prague, and John Hugli, who had lately been burnt as an heretic at Lindau, and being no doubt sanctioned thereto by his superiors, refused to appear at this assembly. Oecolampadius, Haller, and most of the principal promoters of the reformation, came without hesitation. Much clamour was here raised against the intemperate zeal of those who had embraced the new doctrines: the ardour of the Iconoclasts was represented as bordering upon sedition; and many controversial tracts, written with much acrimony, were scattered among the people by both parties. A general resolution was, however, at length agreed to, 'that no innovation whatever should be allowed in matters of religion.' In what manner this decree, in which the catholics greatly exulted, was obtained, will not be easily unravelled, since several of the cantons, particularly Basle and St. Gallen, suffered the protesting clergy to continue their preaching; and Glaris and Appenzel, so far from thinking themselves bound by the vote, declared in favour of general toleration;

toleration; the former place shewing at the same time so accommodating a spirit, that Valentine Tschudi, the parochial priest, agreed to preach the gospel alternately on one Sunday, and to celebrate mass on the other. Coire, and a great part of the Grisons, as well as Thurgau and the Rhinethal, sided with Zurich. Berne saw an open schism within its walls; most of the senators, the canons, the whole Tanners Guild, and many of the other burghers, inclining in favour of the reformation, while the remainder were determined to oppose it. The magistrates however, in consequence of a public debate between both parties, in which the protesting clergy had a decided superiority, on the seventh of February, solemnly declared in favour of the reformation, and issued an order for its reception throughout the canton. This decree was readily complied with by all except the people of Hasli, who, at the instigation of the Underwalders, took up arms in defence of their ancient creed, and raised an insurrection, which was not quelled until the Avoyer d'Erlach led an ample force among them. This republic immediately after made a separate alliance with Zurich: and these two cantons are henceforth to be considered as the chief supporters of the protestant cause in Helvetia. Prompted by a fervent zeal, they not only

1522.



CHAP.  
VI.



only screened, countenanced, and cherished all converts who thought proper to recur to their protection, but likewise sent missionaries into all parts to propagate the doctrines which they firmly believed to be the genuine emanation of the will of God. The cities of Shaffhausen and Basle, and a part of the cantons of Glaris and Appenzel, soon after accepted likewise the doctrines which were henceforth denominated *Evangelical*.

Zwinglius's  
dispute  
with Lu-  
ther.  
1529.

Hitherto we have seen Zwinglius engaged in disputes with open and decided opponents, over whom he found it no difficult matter to prevail; but we have next to notice his more arduous controversies with one whom, though he cherished him as a brother, and revered as one of the first champions of true religion, he was yet doomed ever after to consider as a formidable antagonist. The article of faith, in which he essentially differed from Martin Luther, was the true meaning of the words used in the institution of the Lord's Supper; the latter adopting them in a strict literal sense, while Zwinglius considered them as merely symbolical. At the desire of Philip Landgrave of Hesse, they, in the month of September, held a conference at Marburg, in the presence of the most eminent divines who had separated from the church of Rome. Though each per-  
sisted

sisted in his opinion, yet they parted with cordial assurances of mutual regard and friendship. How sincere these were on the part of Luther may be gathered from a declaration issued by him soon after, relating to the sacrament, in which, besides reprobating the opinion of Zwinglius with some asperity, he severely censured him for having advanced, what he himself had once admitted, 'that virtuous heathens might partake of eternal salvation.'

CHAP.  
VI.

Notwithstanding the great number of conciliating steps that had been taken, the multitude of theological conferences, and the abundance of polemical discussions that were published, the detail of which must be sought for in the profusion of ecclesiastical writers who have treated on the subject of the reformation, other motives, besides the purity of the doctrines, gave rise to feuds and animosities which could not be composed without an appeal to the sword. On the death of an abbot of St. Gallen, the cantons of Zurich and Glaris, who, together with Lucern and Schwitz, had the advocacy of that abbey, took some steps towards its secularization, which greatly irritated the co-advocates. The two latter not only put every obstacle in the way of the reformation, within their districts, but laid violent hands on some of the burghers of Zurich whom  
private

Dissensions  
among the  
cantons.

CHAP.  
VL

private concerns had brought among them, and even caused one of the preachers of the gospel to be burnt alive. Their endeavours could not, however, prevent the progress of the evangelical doctrines in many of the districts held jointly by several cantons, particularly in those denominated the free bailiwicks on the Reuss: and this defection in matters of religion raised an apprehension in the catholic co-sovereigns, that an alienation in point of civil allegiance would necessarily follow, which in the end must prove highly detrimental to their supremacy. Prompted by such motives of interest, the five catholic cantons<sup>17</sup> not only entered into a separate and intimate union among themselves, and with the Valais, for the common defence of their respective territories, but also strengthened themselves by alliances with the pope and the King of Spain. The resentment entertained by Berne against the Underwalders, on account of the countenance they had given to the people of Hasli against their lawful sovereign, proved also an additional cause of enmity, which displayed itself this year, when the senate of the former canton thought fit to refuse admission

<sup>17</sup> The ancient cantons of Schwitz, Uri, Underwalden, Lucern, and Zug. Glaris and Appenzel continued likewise true to the Romish church, but, being new cantons, had less influence in the public concerns of the confederacy.

to the bailiff whom Underwalden had in its turn appointed to the city of Baden. Zurich joined in this opposition, while Lucern, Uri, Schwitz, and Zug, took vigorous measures to assist their ally in enforcing the appointment.

The report of these preparations having reached Zurich, this canton immediately sent forces to the free bailiwicks and Bremgarten, and took possession of the abbey of Muri. All the other cantons, and even Berne, exerted their utmost endeavours to prevent an open rupture. Zurich published a manifesto, wherein it declared that it had offered an arbitration to Lucern, which had been rejected; that the five cantons had seized the town of Rapperswyl; that they had called in foreign aid, and that hence it was legally authorized to demand the assistance of the other cantons. All hopes of reconciliation being now vanished, Berne found it necessary to provide for its own security by strengthening its frontiers, and raising a body of men to join the forces of Zurich, in case of necessity.

The army of Zurich took post on the ninth of June, near the convent of Cappel. Zwinglius, who was no stranger to the din of arms, having been present, in the quality of chaplain, at the battles of Noyarra and Marignan, desired to attend this expedition in the same capacity, but

Hostilities.

CHAP.  
VI.

but was refused, the senate being unwilling to expose a life which they deemed of so much consequence. He nevertheless, regardless of the denial, mounted his steed, grasped his spear, and followed the camp. An eye-witness wrote from this camp, 'It is admirable to behold what order and subordination prevails among the multitude : the word of God is preached daily by Ulric Zwinglius, the Abbot of Cappel, the priest of Kusnacht, and many other learned divines : not an oath is pronounced, not a quarrel is heard of ; we pray before and after each meal ; no cards or dice are ever seen ; not a prostitute is tolerated ; we sing, dance, and practise manly sports ; and are eager to encounter the *pensioners*.<sup>18</sup>

The forces of the five cantons were at Baar, about midway between Cappel and Zug. Both parties were preparing for a fierce encounter when the deputies of the neutral cantons, and even of the cities of Constance and Strasburg, who were indefatigable in their endeavours, at length succeeded to soften the rancour of the principal leaders in both parties. On the twenty-sixth of June a treaty was concluded, in which it was agreed, that no one should

<sup>18</sup> Zwinglius had prevailed upon his countrymen to abolish pensions ; an example which the other cantons, particularly the catholic ones, had not imitated.

henceforth

henceforth be controlled in matters of religion ; that in the districts of joint sovereignty, each community should choose its creed by the majority of votes ; that the five cantons should renounce their alliance ; and that Underwalden should indemnify Berne for the damages it had occasioned in the affair of Hasli. Thus ended the first war of Cappel. But the tranquillity this peace procured was of short duration ; both parties being more actuated by the impulse of an ardent and inflexible zeal, than by the dictates of sound policy or christian charity.

This respite, however short, proved nevertheless greatly conducive to the advancement of the reformation. Numbers of the inhabitants of Thurgau, the Rheinthal, and even of Wettingen, Rheinau, and other abbeys, declared in its favour ; and in the canton of Solure no less than thirty-four communities adopted its spreading doctrines. In the city of this canton the proselytes were few in number, and these, having met in a remote house, either for worship or deliberation, a multitude of bigotted catholics assembled, seized a field piece, and pointed it against the dwelling. The Avoyer Wengi arrived in time to prevent the intended havock. He forced his way through the crowd, placed himself before the mouth of the cannon, and called out, ‘ if you are determined to shed  
‘ the

1530.

CHAP.  
VI.

‘ the blood of your fellow citizens, you shall begin with mine.’ Abashed and struck with admiration, the zealots withdrew ; and through the provident interference of this generous magistrate, the animosity between the two parties was for a time happily suspended.

Meanwhile many synods and religious conferences were held at St. Gallen, Constance, Frauenfeld, Stein, and other places, at all which Zwinglius appeared in the most conspicuous light. He visited in his journies the vassals of the abbey of St. Gallen in the Tockenbourg, and brought over the greatest number of them to his persuasion. All the Confederates who had embraced the Reformation, about the same time, entered into an alliance with the Landgrave of Hesse and the city of Strasburg ; and what must appear singularly inconsistent, Francis the First, who was exterminating the Huguenots in his Kingdom by sword and faggot, desired, though in vain, to be admitted into this union. The landgrave was very urgent that the evangelical cantons might be received in the league of Smalkalden, by which the protestant cause had received a firm consistency ; and this would have been effected had not the Elector of Saxony, a zealous adherent of Luther, insisted that the cantons should implicitly adopt the tenets of that inflexible

inflexible reformer. The cantons declined the offer; and this schism, together with the tendency of the new doctrines to deprive the higher clergy of their enormous emoluments, were no doubt among the principal causes which prevented the Reformation being more universally adopted.

CHAR.  
VI.

The rapid progress however which it made in most parts of Switzerland called forth the spleen and resentment of those who preserved their attachment to the church of Rome. The five cantons in particular learnt with the utmost indignation that, at a diet held at Zurich on the twenty-second of May, the reformed cities had, against the declared opinion of Zwinglius, who never ceased to preach and recommend forbearance, resolved to break off all communication with them, and even to deprive them of the necessaries of life, which they derived from those cities. After some negotiations and fruitless attempts towards an accommodation, these cantons published a hostile declaration against Zurich. They formed a camp at Zug, and sent detachments to ravage the free bailiwicks. Zurich was dilatory and undecided in its preparations. Zwinglius, who now saw the urgency of the case, found great difficulty in persuading the senate, and Rudolph Lavater the military commander, to call together

1534



CHAP.

VI

ther the forces of the canton. A small party was sent out to meet the enemy, whose numbers had by this time increased to upwards of eight thousand; but this party was ordered not to hazard an engagement. On the tenth of October the senate at length ordered the great banner to be brought forth; but instead of four thousand men, who were wont to accompany it, only seven hundred marched out. Zwinglius, by order of the magistrates, attended them as chaplain. This detachment hastened, with all possible speed, over Mount Albis, the distant report of cannon having apprized them that the least delay might prove fatal to their friends who had preceded them. Some, either from cowardice or disaffection, exclaimed, that they could not possibly arrive in time, and that they were resolved not to proceed. 'As to me,' said Zwinglius, 'I will, in the name of God, advance and join our brave countrymen. I will either assist in rescuing them, or perish with them.' At three in the afternoon the banner arrived at Cappel, the whole force of Zurich consisting now of about two thousand men.

Battle of  
Cappel.

Early the next morning the catholic army drew out in complete armour and close array. The leaders of Zurich deliberated in council whether they should abide their approach or withdraw.

withdraw. Rudolph Gallman, of the free bailiwicks, stepped forward, and stamping his foot on the ground, 'this,' he cried, 'this shall be my grave. God forbid that I should ever yield one single step to an enemy.' The cannonade began at noon: the Zurichers avoided its first effects by falling on their faces: they then arose, and maintained an obstinate fight for upwards of two hours; after which about three hundred of the most intrepid among the enemies forced into the midst of them at a time when they were endeavouring to form into two columns: some fled instantly, and threw the remainder into confusion. A person from the catholic army came among them, and personating one of their own number, represented to them the impossibility of making an effectual stand, and exhorted them to retire. They followed his advice, and were pursued till night, with much slaughter. The triumphant foe hereupon returned to the field of battle, fell on their knees, thanked the holy virgin, and all the saints, for their victory, and concluded their devotions with a pater-noster and ave-mary: they then sacked the camp of the Zurichers, and with horrid imprecations put to death the wounded, who had been left behind. A few, less inhuman than the rest, took some of them prisoners, dressed their wounds, and, the

CHAP.  
VI.Death of  
Zwinglius.

night being intensely cold, chafed them near a fire. Zwinglius was among the wounded. He had been stunned and thrown down by a shower of stones, and trampled upon by the fugitives and their pursuers: he recovered several times, but was too much exhausted to support himself. In his last effort he raised himself on his knees, and called out, 'they may indeed kill the body, but they cannot destroy the soul;' and then, with clasped hands, and eyes uplifted to heaven, he once more fell backward. A catholic soldier, observing his quivering lips, offered to bring him a confessor, to which he nodded dissent. A captain of Unterwalden, who came by at the moment, fired with holy indignation against the obdurate heretic, pierced him through the neck. Thus fell Ulric Zwinglius; a man whom all parties allow to have possessed an heroic spirit, a greater degree of moderation than fell to the share of most of the other reformers, uncommon sagacity, combined with profound and extensive learning, and a refined taste: he was ever averse to compulsive measures, but at all times willing to hazard his life in support of his firm persuasion. His manners were affable and conciliatory; he was a friend to cheerfulness and innocent mirth; and though indulgent to others, yet severely rigid towards himself. The conquerors

conquerors exulted in his fall: they caused his body to be quartered by the hangman of Lucern, and to be burnt: and lest his ashes should become an object of veneration to his followers, they mixed pieces of hog's flesh with his mangled limbs. With him fell also fifteen other learned divines, whom their sense of duty had brought into the field. Bullinger, who has given a list of all who perished on the part of Zurich, makes their number amount to five hundred and twelve. The catholics, according to some, lost only eighty, and to others, about two hundred men.

Zurich sent out fresh forces, which were joined by reinforcements from Berne, Basle, Schaffhausen, and other places: but their leaders were at variance, and discipline was wanting among the troops. They met with fresh disasters, and the city was at length compelled to sue for a separate peace. A treaty was accordingly negotiated, and signed on the sixteenth of November. Each party was therein confirmed in the free exercise of its religion: Zurich agreed not to afford any protection in religious matters to the joint bailiwicks; and the indemnification the five cantons claimed for the expences of the war was referred to the general pacification that still remained to be concluded with Berne. It was stipulated, that  
perfect

CHAP.  
VI.

perfect unanimity and concord should be restored, and that in any future differences the law of arbitration should be recurred to. The troops of Zurich now returned to their homes; and the whole burden of the war devolved upon Berne.

The Berners, who had never carried on the war with any vigour, lost no time in accepting terms similar to those above specified. To these were added, that they should pay three thousand crowns to the five cantons for the damages they had occasioned to the abbey of Muri and some other religious houses; that they should exempt Underwalden from all further claims concerning the affair of Hasli; and that the expences of this war, amounting to five thousand crowns, should be paid jointly by Berne and Zurich. This treaty, as well as the former one, was concluded by the mediation of the King of France, the Duke of Savoy, the Margrave of Baden, and some of the neutral cantons, and was signed on the twenty-second of November. It is generally acknowledged, that had the cities unanimously persevered, and kept the field a few days longer, the catholics would have been compelled, by want of provisions, to accept any terms the former would have been pleased to prescribe.

This

This unfortunate issue of the war greatly CHAP. VI. retarded the progress of the Reformation. The Abbot of St. Gallen, who, with his monks, The progress of the Reformation retarded. had deserted the abbey, was reinstated, and received from his city an indemnification of ten thousand florins. The images were replaced, and the celebration of mass was re-established at Baden, Bremgarten, Mellingen, Rapperswyl, and many other places of joint sovereignty: many communities in Thurgau relapsed to the Romish confession; and the catholic cantons soon after renewed their alliance with the bishop and republic of the Valais. Discouraged by the late calamities, and still more bewildered by the loss of their principal teachers, even many of the burghers of Zurich secretly relinquished the doctrines they had lately embraced with fervour; and this defection, which could not escape his vigilance, revived the sanguine hopes of Ennius the pope's nuncio, that this city might once more be reclaimed to the papal supremacy. With a view to promote this object, by deterring those who might still be inclined to counteract it, he brought about an alliance between the catholic cantons, the pope, and the emperor; and flattered himself that, by the powerful interposition of the latter, the Reformation in Swisserland would not only receive an effectual check, but perhaps be wholly

CHAP.  
VI.

1532.

wholly suppressed. His fond hopes however were disappointed by an invasion of the Turks in Hungary, which compelled Charles the Fifth to consent to a peace with the protestants, that he might be at liberty to protect his eastern frontiers against the unexpected enemy.

The anabaptists made fresh attempts to introduce their doctrines in various parts of Switzerland; and at Soleure the prevailing party, which was firmly attached to the church of Rome, with a view to create dissensions among the protestants, insidiously connived at the unwearied endeavours of these sectaries. This canton had, conformably with its treaties, assisted Berne in the war of Cappel, and at its fatal termination, the five cantons demanded that it should either pay one thousand florins towards the damages they had therein sustained, or consent to banish all the dissenting preachers out of their city and territories. The reformed party, being unable to prevail in favour of the former alternative, was reduced to the rigorous option of either renouncing their faith, or abandoning their country. They rose in arms in considerable numbers; but rather than shed the blood of their fellow-citizens, they forsook their wives, children, and property; withdrew voluntarily out of the city; and being persecuted by the catholic, and but feebly protected,

ected by the protestant cantons, dispersed themselves in different parts of the country, and ended their days in poverty and solitude. The city, and the whole canton, one or two villages excepted, returned to their conformity, and have ever since acknowledged the authority of the Roman pontiff.

The canton of Berne, where the Reformation had most firmly maintained its ground, and the canton of Friburg, which had ever steadfastly adhered to the church of Rome, were joint sovereigns over Granson, Orbe, and some other districts in the Pays de Vaud, where various contests arose concerning matters of religion, which could not be terminated without compulsive expedients. William Farel, a native of Gap in Dauphiné, who had early embraced the doctrines of Zwinglius, came, with the consent of the government of Berne, to preach the gospel in these parts. At Orbe he met with vehement resistance, chiefly from the women, who, being fascinated by the personal comeliness and insinuating manners of Juliani, a young Franciscan friar, thought his doctrines infallible; and were near inflicting on the reformer the treatment Orpheus is fabled to have experienced from the Bacchæ. Juliani was one day inveighing in the pulpit against the marriage of priests, when one of the inhabitants, named



CHAP.  
VI.

named Hollard, publicly reprehending his virulence and misrepresentations, was assailed by the bigoted females, and it was with difficulty he escaped the effects of their vindictive rage. Berne at length obtained a joint decree, that both Farel and Juliani should be allowed to preach without molestation; but that both should carefully abstain from scurrilous invectives. There are documents however extant, which prove that even fratricide is to be numbered among the crimes that were committed at Orbe in consequence of the religious animosities which at this time agitated the inhabitants. Farel proceeded next to hold out the torch of the Reformation throughout the neighbouring country; but in many towns and districts held in common by Berne and Friburg, the gospel of peace could not prevail without many bursts of rancorous strife and insurrection.

Reforma-  
tion at  
Geneva.

The spirit of freedom and independence, which had been introduced at Geneva by the emancipation and security the citizens had lately obtained, chiefly by means of the peace of St. Julian,<sup>19</sup> had paved the way for the change that was now to be effected in their religious institutions. Several papers, reflecting upon the pope and his clergy, had been publicly af-

<sup>19</sup> See p. 379.

fixed

fixed in many parts of the city, in consequence of which various encounters took place between the priests and the citizens, which did not all terminate without bloodshed. Their minds were thus disposed when Farel arrived, and was immediately conducted to a public place, and required to preach to an assembled multitude. One of the canons, clad in armour, led on a party of zealous catholics, and attempted to disperse the congregation; but he lost his life in the tumult his rashness had excited, and his death caused a general commotion in the city. Although the two parties seemed nearly of equal strength, yet Farel thought it expedient to quit the city; but he left behind him a spirit of toleration, which the clergy in vain endeavoured to suppress. The magistrates soon after permitted the printing of the Bible in the vulgar tongue; and the people of the evangelical persuasion calling loudly for a preacher, John Guerin, a stocking-weaver, a man of acknowledged piety and good repute, undertook the office, and was the first who, in a garden, administered the sacrament according to the ritual prescribed in the gospel.

1532.

1533.

Various conspiracies were now formed to assassinate the principal promoters of the new doctrines; but they were all detected and frustrated. Two merchants of Friburg, who happened

CHAP.  
VI.

pened to be at Geneva, mediated between the parties, and brought about an accommodation, in which it was, among other things, stipulated that nothing should be taught in the pulpit but what could be clearly proved by passages in holy scripture; a clause which effectually secured the victory to the reformed. Insurrections however succeeded each other rapidly. One of them proved fatal to the Canon Wernli, a native of Friburg; and this canton, resenting the insult, demanded of the magistrates of Geneva that they should forthwith send for the bishop, in order to take cognizance of this offence. The prelate arrived, and his surrogate immediately caused nine or ten of the suspected delinquents to be seized; but the senate insisted upon their being released, alleging that being citizens they could only be tried by their peers. The bishop, highly offended at this contumacy, immediately withdrew, and never after held his residence in Geneva. The murderer of the priest was soon after sentenced to death; but the episcopal commissary, not satisfied with the mode of proceeding, insisted upon an appeal. The syndics answered firmly, 'how can there be an appeal, since we acknowledge no superior?'

The alliance between Geneva and the cantons of Berne and Friburg, to which that city  
in

In a great measure owed its independence, frequently brought its senate into most perplexing dilemmas. A Dominican monk, named Furbitty, had publicly, in the pulpit, used abusive language against the *Germans*, the name by which the reformed were at this time distinguished at Geneva. Berne resented the insult, and demanded redress, while Friburg espoused the cause of the monk. Berne declared that if denied, they would instantly cancel their alliance: and Friburg gave notice, that if the senate complied, their union should be dissolved. A theological disputation was upon this ordained at Geneva, between Furbitty and Farel, which was followed by another insurrection, in which a poor hatter, of the reformed party, was killed in his shop. The syndics, supported by a great majority of the citizens, who loudly exclaimed against the machinations of the priests, proceeded now with vigour. They seized two of the ringleaders, one of whom, a shoemaker, they immediately beheaded: the other, named Portier, maintained that, holding an office under the bishop, he was amenable to none but the episcopal court; but many papers having been found upon him, some signed by the Duke of Savoy, and others by the bishop, which clearly implicated them in a plot to which this insurrection was to be the preparatory

CHAP.  
VI

tory step, the senate, regardless of all the intercessions that were made in his favour, caused the unfortunate accomplice to be hanged, and Furbitty to be closely confined. A number of the reformed citizers, unsanctioned by the magistrates, led Farel into the Franciscan convent, where he began to preach, first in a room, and soon after in the church. The senate winked at the unauthorized proceeding: but Friburg annulled their league; and by this means afforded to Geneva a freer scope for the Reformation, since it had no longer to pay any deference to the dictates of that bigoted ally.

The bishop repaired to the Duke of Savoy at Chambéry, and there concerted with him an hostile attempt upon the city, which was intended to be carried into execution on the thirty-first of July. The senate obtained intelligence of the plot, and ordered all the citizens to be under arms the whole night preceding the appointed day. Those of the catholic party who remained in the city, found it necessary to shut themselves up in their houses; and, for want of their co-operation, the project proved abortive. The bishop upon this had recourse to his spiritual weapons: he excommunicated near two hundred citizens, confiscated their property, and transferred his episcopal seat to Gex. The senate, on account of this removal, declared the

see vacant, and required the chapter to elect a grand vicar and other officers, for the administration of the temporalities of the bishoprick. The canons knew no better way of extricating themselves from this dilemma than by destroying the principal reformers, Farel, Viret, and Froment. They called in for this purpose a woman who had already poisoned a young Genevan at Lyons, and who, under pretence of being a convert, was introduced as cook into the house where Farel and his friends lodged and boarded. On the day when she had mixed poison in the victuals, Farel and Fromont fortunately dined from home : but Viret partook of the noxious viand, and perished. The woman confessed her guilt, named one of the canons as her accomplice, and suffered the punishment due to so heinous a crime.

Most of the catholics who had remained at Geneva, found it now eligible to withdraw ; and great numbers of them took refuge in the episcopal castle of Peney, about six miles from the city. Hence, assisted by troops from Savoy, and the nobility of the Chablais and the Pays de Vaud, they not only ravaged the small district belonging to the republic, but frequently insulted its very gates. Berne having declared that they could not afford any assistance, and having none to expect from Friburg, the senate  
had

CHAP.  
VI.



had recourse to Francis the First, who, though a bitter enemy to the protestants, yet, being at variance with the Duke of Savoy, willingly embraced what appeared to him a favourable opportunity of reducing the power of a neighbour, whom he had long wished to humble.

1535.

The subsequent year was chiefly spent in preparations, during which Farel preached in most of the churches of the city, while the populace, with great tumult and savage exultation, removed and destroyed all the images and pictures that had hitherto been the objects of their devotion. On the twenty-seventh of August, the senate solemnly declared that the protestant should henceforth be considered as the established religion of Geneva.

Berne and  
Friburg ac-  
quire the  
Pays de  
Vaud.  
1536.

Early in the next year the Berners, authorized as they alleged by the duke's infraction of the treaty of St. Julian, declared their intention of marching to the assistance of that city; and, whether motives of patriotism preponderated over those of religion, or the prospect of territorial acquisitions was held out to them, even Friburg and the Valais were prevailed upon to join in the expedition. In vain did the other Confederates endeavour to prevent the impending hostilities. The whole Pays de Vaud, the country of Gex, and the Chablais, were over-run in less than a fortnight.

The

The city of Lausanne, whose bishop had, like that of Geneva, gone over to the duke, surrendered to the Berners, who appropriated to themselves all the rights and prerogatives of the see, converted the bishoprick into a college, and assigned all the revenues of the religious houses to the maintenance of hospitals, churches, and schools. The Reformation was introduced into this city, not altogether without compulsive means; those of the citizens, who persisted in rejecting the new doctrines, being ordered to withdraw, though not without their property. The bishop henceforth took up his residence at Friburg. The conquered districts were consigned to the government of bailiffs, appointed by Berne, Friburg, and the Valais. The duke, who could by no means reconcile himself to the loss of such important territories, lost no opportunity of renewing his demands for their restitution, or attempting their recovery by force; but all this was without effect, until the other confederate states interfering, a treaty was concluded, according to which the Chablais and the district of Gex were restored; but Berne and Friburg retained the Pays de Vaud, with all the ecclesiastical and feudal jurisdictions thereto belonging.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> The cession was made by Duke Emanuel Philibert in the year 1564; and was confirmed in 1617, by Duke Charles



CHAP.  
VI.

Thus did this valuable and most romantic province, the last within the natural limits of Helvetia which had not yet been incorporated in the confederacy, become at length a part of the Helvetic body; and this is the last territorial acquisition made by this unambitious people.<sup>21</sup> Except one small district,\* the Valais retained nothing of its conquests; and all that Geneva reserved in the treaty was the prerogatives of the Vidamy, the revenues of the bishoprick, and those of the abbey of St. Victor, which they appropriated to the maintenance of the clergy and the hospital.

Notwithstanding the formal declaration of the senate of Geneva in favour of the Reformation, neither its dogmas, precepts, or ecclesiastical discipline, were as yet so accurately defined as to preclude all doubt and controversy,

Emanuel. This treaty has in our days been an object of great controversy, and has afforded a pretence to the French republic to espouse the cause of the disaffected in the Pays de Vaud against their legitimate sovereign. See Chap. XI.

<sup>21</sup> The county of Gruyeres was redeemed from the creditors of Michel, the last count, by the cantons of Berne and Friburg, and converted into bailiwicks dependent on them. This transaction happened in the year 1554; but we do not deem this a new acquisition to the confederacy, since the counts may be considered as having been previously members of the Helvetic body.

\* The bailiwick of Montey.

and

and afford a rule of faith and practice, to which the people might adhere with confidence. The eminent service of arranging an establishment appears to have been reserved for John Calvin, a native of Noyon in Picardy, who, with his brother Anthony, flying from persecution in France, came accidentally to Geneva in his way to Basle, where, or at Strasburg, he meant to establish his abode. He was detained by Farel, who perceiving in him the transcendent mind and firmness of character which in these times were indispensably necessary, caused him to be named professor of divinity at Geneva. He attended several theological disputations, both there and at Lausanne, and drew up a catechism which he proposed for general acceptance; but this not agreeing precisely with the opinions adopted by many of the citizens, excited murmurs, in consequence of which he, Farel, and a third minister, named Courault, who all three had refused to administer the sacrament, both on account of this noncompliance, and the corruption of manners which still prevailed among the people, were ordered to leave the city. The disorders, both religious and civil, increasing now to a degree which those at the helm were no longer able to control, and the better part of the citizens could not but reprobate, the senate and people came to a

CHAP.  
VI.

John Calvin.

1537.

1538.

D D 2

general

CHAP.  
VI

general resolution to recal Calvin, who was accordingly intreated to return, and to take upon him the administration of the ecclesiastical affairs of the city. He was at Strasburg when he received this invitation. With much hesitation, and to the great regret of the magistrates of that city, he at length accepted it; and arriving at Geneva, on the thirteenth of September, was received with great demonstrations of joy and exultation. He now drew up a form of prayer, several articles of church discipline, and even various municipal regulations, as far as they related to religion, which, together with an enlarged catechism, were readily accepted: and, in conjunction with Farel and Bullinger, he established the Confession of faith which has since been adopted by all the protestant churches of Helvetia and Rhætia. His asperity against the Spanish Arian, Michael Servetus, who, after he had been condemned by various tribunals, took refuge at Geneva, and was by Calvin denounced to the magistrates, and whom, after a formal hearing, they condemned as an obdurate heretic, and sentenced to the stake, is an incident in the life of Calvin which his best advocates are at a loss to extenuate. Few characters so moderate as Zwinglius and the mild and benevolent Melancthon, are to be met with, even among the reformers:

nor is it to be wondered that in an age of incessant strife and warm debate, when, amidst the investigation of truth the worst passions of men were let loose against each other, even the most temperate should have yielded to a bias in favour of severity, which at that time may have appeared necessary and meritorious, but in days more tranquil must be deemed rancorous and oppressive. Calvin, after having been concerned in the establishment of many churches in France, Germany, England, and Poland, and having committed his flock, as well as pupils, to his friend and disciple Theodore Beza, closed his indefatigable career on the sixth of February; and left behind him in the city, which had been the principal theatre of his exertions, a reputation for piety, learning, and wisdom, which has fallen to the lot of scarcely any among his fellow-labourers.

1564.

Waving the merits of the reformers in a religious light, which come within the province of ecclesiastical or polemical writers, they are no doubt entitled to the highest commendation for the improvements in temporal matters which they effected in their respective districts. They were, in fact, no less conspicuous as legislators, magistrates, and statesmen, than in the pulpit, the cathedra, or their libraries. The improved prosperity of the countries they had reformed became

CHAP. VI. became manifest. Population increased, not only by the abolition of the restrictions laid by the church on matrimonial engagements, but also by the many emigrants who sought refuge in these happy retreats, from the religious as well as civil oppressions that prevailed in other countries. Agriculture, manufactures, and sciences, made a rapid progress. The reformers could not have maintained] their ground in their numberless controversies with the most learned divines of the Romish church, had they not possessed more than common erudition in the classics, oriental literature, logic, eloquence, and in the rules of sound criticism. Men of eminence in various branches of learning made also their appearance about this time, and no doubt contributed essentially to the general cultivation of reason. As historians of more than ordinary merit, we have to name Tschudi, Stumpf, Simler, and Bullinger: as observers of nature, Bauhin, Zwinger, Wolf, and Conrad Gesner. Philosophy and the muses were not neglected; but their votaries consecrated their best labours to the altar. Even the dramas of Ruoff and Manuel were of a religious cast; and those were not suffered, which, while they pretended to discourage vice, afforded pernicious lessons of intrigue and gallantry. But to the abolition of convents,  
and

and the restraints laid upon foreign services and stipends, which the reformers recommended, and the protestant cantons now enforced, must chiefly be ascribed the happy reform gradually brought about in the public morals which, through the neglect of the Romish clergy, had sunk into the most loathsome depravity. Much also must be attributed to the willingness of the people to submit to the austere regulations at this time enacted, which, though they savoured much of Spartan discipline, were yet, to the credit of the nation, not only ordained, but likewise punctually observed, in the protestant cantons, and by the natural influence of example produced some amendment even among the catholics.

## APPENDIX.



## APPENDIX.

---

**MANY** of the original letters from Sir Robert Wingfield, British minister at Vienna in the beginning of the XVIth century, and from Mr. Richard Pace his Secretary, who was employed as British agent in Swisserland; also from Count Galeazzo Visconti a relation of the expelled duke of Milan, and from the cardinal of Sion, all of them either to king Henry VIII. or to Cardinal Wolsey, were collected by Sir Robert Cotton and deposited in his library now in the British Museum. Unfortunately most of these documents are contained in volumes which have been so much damaged by the fire that consumed a great part of that valuable library, that very few of them can be of any use. The two following articles, even in their mutilated state, will however it is hoped prove satisfactory to our readers.





I.

*A Letter from Count Galeazzo Visconti to King Henry VIII. containing an account of the Battle of Marignan, dated Constance 27th December 1515.*

(Cottonian MS. Vitel. B. II. p. 197.)

---

SERENISSIME ac Christianissime Rex Dne Dne mi Clemen<sup>me</sup>. Post humillimam commendationem et manus oscula. Jam diu est quod nichil magis cupivi quam ad Ser<sup>tem</sup>. Vestram posse accedere, ut debitam reverentiam ei exhibere, et manus oscularer, propter quod occasio faciendi id michi se obtulerat, qua summa eram adfectus lætitia, et pro ipso itinere ita me accingeram quod de hora in horam ad eam eram discessurus. Qui adventus meus erat etiam ut cum ea multa tractarem, et tam nomine Ill<sup>mi</sup>. D. Francisci Sforcie Vicecomitis, Ducis Mediolani Dni mei gratiosissimi, quam Dnor. Helvetiorum statuerem, ac ei nonnulla referrem quæ scribenda non sunt, et ad quæ nunquam (nisi fallor) Ser<sup>tas</sup>. Vestra arbitrata est, et concernunt maximum ejus commodum et honorem, statusque Mediolani, ac totius Italiae firmamentum, et quibus comunes hostes de facili suprimi poterunt. Sed quia dictum fuit venisse nonnulla bona nova a R<sup>mo</sup>. D. Car<sup>le</sup>. Eboracen. D. D. meo obser<sup>mo</sup>. ad mag<sup>cum</sup>. D. Robertum Wingselde Ser<sup>tis</sup>. Vestræ oratorem apud M<sup>tem</sup>. Cæsaream residente, et ad R. D. Richardum Paceum ejus secretarium, ab accessione ista ex M<sup>da</sup>. Cæs<sup>z</sup>. mandato cessavi, quæ ad me bis terve scripsit ne ullo

ullo pacto discederem, quum fateretur personam meam in partibus istis magis esse necessariam quam alibi, si aliqua expeditio de presenti contra ipsos Gallos fieri debet, et eos non modo ab Italia, sed etiam ab ipsa Gallia M<sup>cia</sup>. Vestræ adiutorio depellere. Nam, gratia dei, Helvetii me amant, michi, . . . et in omnibus satis confidunt; qua de re prædictus D. Richardus attestari p . . . . . cujus prudentia et dexteritate (etiam quod nomine p<sup>ti</sup>. R<sup>mi</sup>. D. Car<sup>lia</sup>. omnia ageret . . . . . ab illis minime Gallizantibus non credebatur; Sed Ser<sup>ti</sup>a. Vestræ . . . . . nisi bono modo providissemus ne cum Rege Gallico Helvetii foedus inivissent, de re actum esset jam, nemine eorum discrepante. Nec hoc tacebo quod si ille Michael de Abbatis onus terræ, neque et homo inutilis, qui his diebus præsentis ad eam venit, rerum veritatem retulisset, sicuti in itinere michi dixit velle facere, ac honori, et auctoritati meæ non derogasset, et si res sunt in bono portu, in meliori tum, et securiores Vestræ Ser<sup>ti</sup>a. clementia et benignitate reperirentur.

Ser<sup>ti</sup>. Vestræ igitur, modo ne illi sim tedio, prout res se habuerunt breviter exponam. In istius belli principio, etsi indignus, tum ipsorum Dnorum Helvetiorum gratia, fui electus Cap<sup>s</sup>. Generalis in eorum exercitu, me hoc penitus spernente, ac in eo Ill<sup>mus</sup>. D. Maximilianus, tunc Mediolani Dux, ut ejus personam sustinerem, et id egi, quod michi non fuit possibile posse spernere. Prefatum exercitum per quatuor menses continuos sub divo, in Pedemontibus ad passus, ne Galli montes transirent, *absque ullis pecuniis* detinui, et nisi discordia inter eos ob defectus pecuniarum exorta fuisset, quæ multas prodiciones parturiit, eis faciliter obstitissemus ne ultra montes  
militum

militum suorum copias in Italiam traicissent, se nos  
 cum exercitu in Galliam transivissemus. Ob p<sup>am</sup>.  
 discordiam Capi et pedites trium Civitatum, vz.  
 Bernæ, Friburgi et Solòturni retrocesserunt, et in  
 eorum patriam reversi sunt. Partem alteram exercitus  
 conduxì Mediolanum, ut eam conjungerem cum ex-  
 exercitu Smi. D. . . . . altero Illi. D. Raimondi de  
 Cardona Viceregis Neapolitani, quibus non potest  
 objici quin debitum ex parte sua fecerint, ac . . . .  
 . . . . gesserint, qui prope erant XXV. miliaria  
 Longobarda . . . . . superius dictorum disces-  
 sionem, Galli montes jam . . . . . ne cum p<sup>ti</sup>.  
 exercitibus conjungeremur, in medio cum exercitu  
 se posuerunt in loco nuncupato Stus. Julianus forti  
 aquis, lignis, et pessimis vadis munito prope Marig-  
 nanum tribus miliaris, et Mediolanum septem.  
 Aliqui Capi et hujus exercitus pecuniis corrupti fue-  
 runt, et volebant in eorum patriam cum peditibus re-  
 verti. Aliis dubitantibus ne isti Capi retrocederent,  
 tantus ardor, et animi caliditas insurrexit, quod sine  
 mora, ut cum exercitu Gallico configerent, Medio-  
 lano discesserunt, et statuerant potius velle præliari  
 cum circha sex milibus peditibus quam velle deficere,  
 quod posset dici eos debitum suum non fecisse (utinam  
 alii sic fecissent) et ita die XIII. mensis Septembris  
 circha hora prandii itum est ad arma, me penitus  
 invito, et Capi et pedites qui, ut dixi, pecuniis fue-  
 runt corrupti, eos præ pudore sequuti sunt. Ipsum  
 exercitum volebam Papia versus conducere, et hos-  
 tibus passus occupare, tunc hostes fuissent a manu  
 sinistra, et nos a dextra, volebamque castrametari  
 in loco tuto et securo, et in quo nos potuissemus cum  
 ipsius Smi. D. N. et p<sup>ti</sup>. Illmi. D. Raimondi Viceregis  
 exercitibus

exercitibus absque ulla difficultate conjungere, et ipsis hostibus passus claudere: sed nunquam fuit opis meæ a sua sententia eos posse avertere, et ventum est ad arma circa solis occasu, et declinatione, ubi vix mediam diei horam habebamus: tantaque virtute animi pugnatum est, quod primo ingressu lucrati fuimus quindecim magna tormenta, fecimus præliando ipsos hostes medium milliare retrocedere, noxque adeo obscura nos invasit quod non poteramus videri, nec ullus ab alio cognosci; et illa nocte tota super hostium lanceæ incidebatur, in quorum stationibus in . . . cadaverum morabamur. Hostes autem ultra quoddam magnum vallum sive fossam aquæ plenam, cum reliquo tormentorum parvorum, quæ erant infinita, se receperunt. Dubitantes ne nos eos insequeremur, et circha auroram Helvetii ipsi, me invito qui eos rogavi ut subsisteremus quia hostes victos et superatos habueramus nisi amplius præliati fuissemus, voluerunt iterum majore animi alacritate et fortitudine quam unquam fecerint inimicos aggredi, et præliatum est usque ad mediam diem Veneris. Certe fuit mirum quod absque cibo potuque per duos fere dies et noctem unam, structis phalangis permanserint, et certe si ubi conflictus inceptus fuit, tantum duas diei horas habuissemus, victoriam laud dubiam reportavissemus, in quo conflictu non plures quatuor mille Helvetiorum, et Grisonorum quingentorum cecidere; sed hostium major numerus, et præsertim primatum capitaneorum Lancesnekt, et magnatum Franciæ. Quare remissis ab utraque parte viribus, et sponte ex parte nostra, nec coactis, et præsertim quod multi ex nostris Gallizantibus, cum vexillis terga dederant. Uterque exercitus retrocessit. Deinde venimus Mediolanum

num lentis passibus et quisque nostrum cum nostris insignibus et vexillis illesis, et non paucis illorum Lancesnekt et Gallorum lucratis, quæ in templis ubique pende . . . . . possunt, absque eo quod aliquis hostium equestrium et pedestrium insequeretur, et ibi major pars consuluit velle redire . . . . . maxime cum scivisset multos ex suis ad patriam redire . . . . . Et ita ad has partes Allēmanīæ venimus quod fuit . . . . . ribile, nam nos vicimus, et volumus amittere . . . . . St. Juliani paululum, aut saltem Mediolani moram traxissemus, hostes non lentis passibus terga dedissent, sicuti multi ex eis jam ceperant, et quoad transivissent pontes non substitissent, de qua re multi et permulti, veritatem dicentes, possunt testificari. Itaque reducti sumus ad hanc miseram temporum calamitatem, quam nisi benignitate, auxilio, clementia, et Sertis. Vestra auctoritate, sedemus, &c. . . . .

. In the remainder of this letter the Count earnestly solicits some personal relief, and the strenuous interference of the British Monarch with the Swiss in order to induce them to renew the war in Italy against the French,

## II.

*Richard Pace to Cardinal Wolsey, being his first letter after his arrival at Zurich, dated one of the last days of November, 1515.*

(Cott. MS. Vitel. B. XVIII. p. 222.)

AT my arriving unto this town in Swice, the 24th day of November, I desired of the lordes of thes cantones hasty expedition, and a resolute answer in my matters, considering that all the cantons wear certified of my petitions by sufficient instruccions sent unto every canton affore my commyng, by my lorde the Cardinall Sedunen (Sion): herunto they made ther answer that, affore the day of the sitting of ther counsell (which should be five days after my comming hither) I could have non audience, for such was ther auncient order. Wherfor affore the 28th day of November I could have non audience; but in the mean time all the lords of this towne did visite me at my lodginge, and also sent me divers presents, and by the reason of such relaton as they had had here of my commynge by the Emperoure and my sayd Lorde Sedunen, the common people did openly speake that they had been disseved by all Princes chrystyned, except the Kinges grace, and therfor they would serve no man but him alon; and if ther superiors would determyne the contrary, they would make insurrection against them. This same was so published among the sayd common people that it elen interrupt the ratification of the frindshipe which undoubtedly had

had been concluded the 29th day of the last month, if I had not come hither ; wherfor when I had perfect knowledge hearof, and could have non open audience for to let the sayd ratification of peace, I desired instantly the lords of this town in the kings name and yours, for provide that nothinge should be . . . repugnant unto . . . and this alone is the thyng that hath lette the conclusion of peace at this tyme betwyxte France and the Swices. In the mean tyme all such as favoured the French kinge had published, and confirmed with great othes, that I was not sent out of England by the kinges consent or any of the counsaill, ne was noe Englishman borne, but a false Spaniard craftily sent for to disseave them ; and verily this untrue rumor did greatly alienat from me the mynds of the councell heare, and also of the common people, because they have soe often tymes bene begyled, jn soe much that when I was called into the councell afor the ambassadors of the cantones, I was put to this exigent, either to shew that I was sent from the kinges grace, or else to let the French peace be concluded, or else to stand in manifest jeopardie of my life by unthrifty felons, moved therunto by such as be corrupted ther with great somes of money from the French kinges ; and therfor, and for noe love, doth favor his parte. When I was in this perplexitie, I desired to speake secretly with one or two of the most wise of the councill, and soe I was committed to the Lorde Galiace Vicecount, a noble man verilie, and a wise, in great authoritie hear, and rewleth thes men at his pleasure, because they never found in him but singular faith and sub-



stantiall demeanure. This lorde would that the emperours ambassador resident hear should also hear me speake, which thinge I could not conveniently deny for twoe causes, one, lest I should have shewed little amitie betwixt the said emperour and the kinges grace, the other that he had knowledge afor of my . . . . . commission by my lorde . . . . . men in the best manner I could for the advauncement of my causes; they did give unto me such credence, that immediatly they did bring me into the counsell again, and not only certified all the cantons that I was truly your grace's secretary, and sent by the king's counsell, but also they offered themselves hostages unto the said cantons, unto such tyme that they might send into England, and have knowledge again uppon the truth of this matter, if they would not beleeve it. When they had hard this they wear satisfied, and accepted me in their best maner, sayinge that the day followinge I should be called into their counsell agayne, and have some answer, tho' it wear not resolute, to all my demaunds; and this was performed according to ther promise. The answer then unto me mad was this, that for the kinges pleasure they had differred the ratification of the French peace unto another dyet, to be ocelebrated the Tusday after Saint Nicholas his day, and that at that dyet in there town of Lu . . . . I should have an answer resolute; and updoubtidly if I had brought money with me, the king's grace and non other had had the Swices surelie. As the thinge standeth now it is very doubtfull, for the French kinge hath extorted in the duchie of Millan two hundred thousand  
CROWNES

crownes for to be payd to the Swices ther, assoone as they ratifye the forsayd peace: and thus the sayd French kinge doth treat his matters with money in hand. And we sola spe. Nevertheless if the hundred thousand crownes be sent hither befor the next dyet paradventure they may doe some good: if not, actum est, isti haud dubie pacem cum Gall . . . . . ponent et ill ser . . . . . in all hast, not only with myne owne letters but also my lords the Cardinal Sedunen. And at that tyme declared unto your grace plainlye that we lacked nothing but money for to set forward the Swices within 8 dayes. I shall never forget the kings most wise and discreet words sayd unto your grace and my lorde the duke of Suffolke at my departure: videlicet, that his grace would not that I should goe unto the Swices with if, if, conditionally, and bare promise, but offer them redy, redy, money if they would serve him. Thes words were spoken by some inspiration, for he that will obtain the service of thes men must not only have money for to pay ther wages at ther entrie into the warres, but also for to give secretlie to certaine heads of them for to bringe them to that purposse. And this custume of taking of money is so ingendered in them, that they doe take them for a foole that comith to treat any matter with them without such money; nor wisdom, nor good reason, nor persuasion, is hear admitted without money. Wher it is comprised in my instruecon that one payment should be made unto thes men after a battle should be made and striken between the Frenchmen and

E E 2

them,

them,\* they will not move one foot without the payment of ther wages for one month, and the next payment must be the last day . . . month, they say that this . . . man broken unto this day but by such as hath deceived them. I have seen the capitores made by the French kinge for the conclusion of this peace betwixt him and these Swices, whearin his rancor against the realme of England doth evidently appear; for in one capitor he doth bind the Swices to serve him against all men, not only upon this side of the mountaynes, but also beyonde the same. Over this he would constrainne the said Swices for to ayd and succor him against all thos that pretendeth any title to the realme of France; but for to cover this his malicious minde, he hath comprised in this his desired peace the kinges grace, *verbis quidem bonis, sed animo pessimo*. Further more I have perfect knowledg that the duke of Burbon did lately say openly at his table in Millen that he would be glad to see an end of this peace betwixt his kinge and the Swices, though two millions of gould wear payd therfor, for that had, they would not set by all the world, and then they should be able to recompence all injurys sufferd by ther auncient enemyes the Englishmen and the Spaniards. I dout not but that your grace will ponder and consider thes things accordingly, and in like manner see to the oppressing of the French ambition and pride be-

\* After having been so often cheated by their allies, would not Pietro Aretino have entered the Swiss in his catalogue of fools, had they listened to a proposal like this?

tymes,

tymes, wherunto no manner of helpe can be better than the helpe of the Swices if we can get it ; but it will not be gotten without great money, which I trust the kinge would and should be glad to expend if such order may be founde, that it might be surely well expended, and not cast away for recovery of his graces right title to the realme of France. The emperours ambassador resident heare; and the sayd Lorde Galiace Vicecount, after that they had perceived that my matters were not fayned, did both surly advance all my cause with as great diligence as if they had beene the kinges owne subiects ; and the sayd emperours ambassador had commission from the emperor so to doe . . . . Galiace is of . . .

. . . . .  
of Millain, expelled by the French kinge, wherfor he having knowledge of the singular benevolence of the kings grace and yours, shewed unto the sayd late duke, sayeth that he is bound to live and die with the kings grace against France. And wheras the French kinge would fain have him home into the duchy of Millain, and maketh him great offers to come thither and injoye his owne lands, fearing greatly, (as he well may) that his absence shall put him out of the sayd duchie againe, by reason that he is universally in all that country well beloved, he sayeth that he will rather dye in the feild with the king's grace then to accept any offer made unto him by the French kinge, considering the king's highness incredible favour, and also your graces, unto his blood in extreame necessitie and adversitie. This is a sage man, of great gravity, great experience, a noble captaine, and he  
that

that may doe more with the Swices then any man: for it doth evidently appeare that they doe honor him like a saint, only because of his fidelitie shewed unto them continually without frawde or decept. I have largely declared unto your grace the qualities of this nobleman to the intent that the kings grace may use him, if he will obtaine any service of these Swices. I am advertised that the emperor intendeth to send one to the kinges highnes and your grace for thes matters against France. I assure your grace I know noe man whose comminge shall be profitable to us the value of one half penny, but this mans only; for he can substantially informe you of every thing necessary to be done in thes partyes against France; and also evidently shew how the kings money should be well spended, and not cast away: and besides this doe all things convenient to a noble captaine ordayninge of a feilde, wherfor if th' emperor . . . . .  
. . . intent, I will procure as . . . . .  
and not such a one as shall doe but loose the tyme, and if he come your grace shall finde him the same man that I take him for, and him that can doe unto the kings grace acceptable service in thes parts, or elcswhear in any his grace's enterprise mad for the recovery of the realm of France. If I shall have any thinge more to do hear with the Swices, necessary it is that the kings most honorable lettres be written kindly unto them; for they sayd unto me at the delivery of your graces lettres, that your authority and wisdome might well be such, (as I shewed) that the kinges grace might commit all such great causes unto the same, yet they could not be sure of that; wherfor

for they desired to see both the king's commission and lettres junctly with your graces, but not yours alone without them. They said unto me playnlie that the pope, and all the other princes christian, and especially the kinge of Arragon, hath so deceived them, that allmost they can noe more beleeeve any man. And undouptidlie it is true many promises hath beene made unto them, and none performed. Hearin the pope hath put my lorde cardinall Sedunen: to great rebuke amongst thes men, for his holines did direct his breves unto the said lorde cardinall contayninge many promises unto the Swices, and noe thinge was performed; whearfor they doe impute unto the sayd cardinall that he, beinge ther owne countryman, consented with the pope for to begyle them: and for this respect the sayd cardinall doth lie 25 milles from this towne, because his presence heare at this tyme should not doe so much good as his counsell doth being absent; for I have daily letters from his grace and he from me. The popes legat hear Epus Verulanus doth vehemently defend the king's cause, knowing the perfect amitye betwixt the pope and his highnes. If I shall tarrye hear unto the tyme that answer be made unto this my letter, (as I think it necessary) I desire . . . . . one letter may be . . . . . from the kinges grace, and another to the sayd lorde Galliaice Vicecount, for they have both right well deserved it, and I shall doe better. The sayd legat hath commanded an holy man of this towne, doctor of divinitye, to preach openly amongst the people heare of the unlawfull title of the French kinge pretended to the duchie

duchie of Millain, to shew that they cannot lawfully  
 take the French kinges part in a cause so unlawfull.  
 I must most humbly desire your grace that thes Swices  
 may have perfect knowledge that my cominge hi her  
 was no feined matter; for if this be not done your  
 grace can have no honor therby, and I shall stand in  
 jooperdie of my life; because the French part hath  
 made me a Spaniarde hear, which nation they hate  
 like dogges in this cuntry. And affore they have  
 heare this knowledge, I cannot depart hence, for if I  
 should but once pass the towne gates, they would  
 thinke that I would rune away, which I cannot doe  
 if I would surely: and thus credence should be given  
 to the Frenchmen's lyes to my destruccion. When I  
 had written thus far I was advertised, by reason that  
 the common people doth hear openly publish that  
 they will serve the kinges grace and make noe peace  
 with France, and that they will take no moe scutes of  
 France but English nobles, ther is such dissention  
 amongs the heades of the lordes of the cantons, that  
 they dare not ratifie the sayd French peace: and  
 that it is not like to be concluded at the next dyet.  
 If this be true (as I trust it shall) the French kinge  
 shall rune into noe small danger. It is also shewed  
 unto me by credible personnes that all this matter now  
 . . . in the lords of this town of Surrick; named in  
 Latyn Thuricenses, whearfor it wear well donne that  
 the kinge should writt a kind-lettre unto them, desiring  
 them to continue ther favour in his causes, &c. If  
 in the next diett nothinge be concluded the said lettres  
 will doe much good. Uppon . . . day  
 I must be at the towne of Lucerna . . .  
 have

. . . . have one resolute . . . . .  
 answer to my demaund. Necessary it is that the  
 pope be diligently moved not only to sticke by the  
 kinge stedfastly as he is bound, but also to contribute  
 some good somes of money to thes Swices, to plucke  
 them from France: but they doe say playnlie unto  
 me hear, that they will beleeeve noe worde sayd or  
 written by his holines, unless they see the money,  
 because of his infinite promises heartofor without any  
 performance. I am sure that the Frenchmen hath  
 published in England, as they have done in all Italye,  
 the conclusion of a peace betwixt them and the Swices,  
 but they may lye at their pleasure after ther accus-  
 tomed manner: this is the truth that I doe writt unto  
 your grace. If any money shall be sent unto the  
 Swices, the names of the townes wher it shall be most  
 commodiously payed be thes following, Augusta,  
 Constantia, Argentina, Basilea. The conclusion of  
 this my lettre shall be this, to desire your grace most  
 instantlye to provide that the kinges grace lett not  
 slipe the helpe of thes Swices for money, if he intend  
 to make any enterprise against France; for the French  
 kinge doth nothing now but labour by all means pos-  
 sible to have them agaynst us; undoubtedly because  
 of the taking of the late duke of Millain. Such order  
 as was taken for hasty sending for lettres can not now  
 be had hear, wherfor I think it expedient that your  
 grace should provide ther for thes thinges unto such  
 tyme that you shall have an resolute in every thing  
 from the Swices. The Duke of Barye doth commende  
 himselfe most humblie unto the kings grace and  
 yours, desiring your sayd grace to continue his good  
 7  
 lorde,



lorde, and to shew unto the kinges grace that what money soever his highnes lays out in this side the mountains . . . . . against the French . . . . . himself to restitution therof in as much as it shall please his grace to have restored agayne. He desirèth also to have by your grace his meanes a letter of commendacon unto the emperor, prayinge his majestie to continew his favour and good minde towards him in creating him duke of Millain, as he hath promised to doe, and another lettre to the Swices, desiring them to be contented with the same, and favour the sayd duke. . . .

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.




---

T. Gillet, Printer, Wild Court Lincolns Inn Fields.





